

How Britain paved the way for apartheid

There seems to be little understanding in the media, and even on the part of some MPs, of Britain's very great share in the responsibility for the present terrible state of affairs in South Africa. Britain has a direct constitutional responsibility for the long and agonising process of exploitation, theft of land and property, and disenfranchisement of the black people of South Africa, and their deliberate exclusion from any profit, and their fair share of the wealth that their unremitting hard labour, under brutal oppression, has helped to create.

Paul Kruger once said that one who would create the future must not forget the past: we have conveniently forgotten our part in the crimes against humanity committed in South Africa. Compromises with the Boers and their policies towards the blacks became entrenched in treaties and constitutions; it suited our exploitation of mineral and agricultural wealth and provided cheap labour controlled by crushing force. It led inexorably to segregation of all the races, to the evil system of apartheid, to white supremacy for profit and a totalitarian state that now threatens the profit it was meant to defend and the peace and prosperity of the whole of southern Africa, if not the world.

Twenty-five million black people are enslaved by apartheid today,

as their forefathers were enslaved by the first Boers to arrive in the Cape in 1652, over 300 years ago. Incompetent and disastrous interventions by a succession of British governments since 1806 were the direct cause of this.

We are in duty bound to intervene again, this time effectively, to put right the wrongs we have done since we seized the Cape 180 years ago. The 142 years in the British Empire, including 104 years of direct British rule, have left the blacks worse off than when we arrived. At first we repealed the more offensive of the Boer laws, but after 100 years of wars, having gained complete political control, we made the move that doomed the blacks. The Boer Republics were allowed to disenfranchise all non-whites.

In 1910 this was entrenched in the new Union constitution, approved by the British government, despite strenuous protests by the blacks and dire warnings of disaster by eminent and knowledgeable people both here and in the Union. In 1913 the Native Land Act forced blacks off land they had owned or been tenants on for years; they were driven to squalid shanty towns in the cities, or to the barren desolate "reserves" — now the "homelands" or Bantustans.

In 1948 the Nazi sympathisers of the Broderbond swept to power in the post war elections. These men,

imprisoned for sabotage in two world wars, brushed aside Smuts, who had set out to make South Africa "a white man's land," and succeeded, scoring years of peaceful struggles by the loyal blacks who had served the Empire and built a land of wealth and prosperity for the whites. Now the triumphant Boers created, on the foundations Britain had laid so well, the totalitarian racist state they had so much admired in Hitler's Germany. To date it has lasted three times longer than Hitler's Reich.

"Thanks to the 'liberal conscience' that some MPs seem to despise so much, the harrowing history of South Africa is well documented. Until the panic clampdown by P. W. Botha's government last month, the TV screens of the world showed us all the demerits of barbarism of the repression in that unhappy country. Many brave people, over many years, have risked and lost their lives; many people, black and white, have risked ruin, savage beatings, torture, imprisonment, and suffered horrible deaths to put this terrible story in front of our eyes. George De'ath, hacked to death making a TV film, was one of the latest victims.

Today there is no excuse for being ignorant of the stark statistics of oppression in South Africa, and of Britain's contribution to the survival of this evil regime. We really should all be aware that 15 per cent of the population, all white, live in luxury on 87 per cent of the land, and have all the best land. That they enjoy 70 per cent of the country's income, while 85 per cent of the people, all black, crammed on to 13 per cent of the

land, and who produce this wealth, cannot share it.

Living half starved in conditions unfit for animals, they are denied all human rights. When no longer of use to the whites they are forced to exist, if they can, in the barren eroded deserts of the "homelands," ruled by brutal black puppets of the white government, with no proper water supply, no sanitation, no medical facilities, no schooling, on soil too poor to grow sufficient food to live on, on plots too small to keep livestock or cattle. All their attempts to form legal political parties are frustrated; the ANC who represented them since 1912 banned, and every peaceful protest brutally smashed.

A state of affairs no worse than in many other countries, but one we are directly responsible for. P. C. Edwards, Ladbroke Road, Epsom, Surrey.

In the 1930s when Hitler started the persecution of the Jews in Germany, anti-fascist groups in Britain advocated a boycott of German consumer goods. They were begged to drop this idea on the grounds that the "Jews would suffer the worst". This was never undertaken. Let those who oppose sanctions against South Africa remember this.

Zola Zembe, South African Congress of Trade Unions, London N19.

Can I add one point to your article about the impact of sanctions on jobs in this country? (July 6). The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary have made much of the assertion that 120,000

jobs will be lost in this country if we impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

I asked the Foreign Secretary if he could detail the industries which would suffer job losses as a result of such a policy. The Government's reply was that they could not offer any breakdown of their global figures. In other words, there was no information on which industries and firms would suffer a reduction in employment. One is left with the impression, therefore, that the Government has plucked this figure out of thin air.

A policy which blocks South African imports into this country might well increase jobs here, although if it is effective, jobs will be lost in South Africa. Blocking exports to South Africa will obviously have an effect on jobs here, but the numbers of jobs affected will depend on the range of measures taken. As few people are calling for a total boycott it will be surprising if the job losses total anywhere near 120,000.

Frank Field, MP, (Lab, Birkenhead), London SW1.

Black insurrection and threats of economic sanctions are clearly pushing Pretoria to adopt even more extreme anti-black measures.

One solution has not been proposed: no sanctuary to be granted to white South Africans by any country when the inevitable mass exodus is attempted.

Only native white pressure will buckle Botha. (Dri F. Carahott, Lisle Street, London WC2.

Chernobyl postscript

Re Chernobyl: now that the dust has settled, so to speak, and America has completed its orgy of self-congratulatory doom-saying, a few facts should be brought to the attention of your readers.

First, the US does indeed have reactors of the exact same carbon-shielded type as in the Soviet Union. One of them is in the state of Washington, only a few hundred miles from where I live. There are others.

Next, the Tennessee Valley Authority (which runs seven reactors) is now fully shut down, at a loss of \$1 million per day, because of gross safety hazards. In the past two years, the TVA has suffered over 2,000 complaints for serious safety violations and for threats against employees for filing the complaints.

Finally, and much more serious for us here, all the drinking water reservoirs on the West Coast of Canada recently had to be closed due to severe radioactivity. First thoughts of origin were the USSR, but tests proved it was of the wrong type and that the cloud was at least 10,000 feet.

After much checking, it seems the US has had difficulty not only with its space programme. The first nuclear test in Nevada of the recent series "bombed," so to speak, and in order to enter the test site to determine what went wrong the US Government waited for the right winds and vented all the underground radioactivity into the atmosphere, directly into Canada.

Naturally, giving prior warning wasn't deemed to be "in the US national interest" and besides, the Americans had a better-than-even chance of the problem being attributed to the USSR.

L. D. Romanosky, Brae Glen Road, Calgary.

How to revive the Irish body politic

For those of us who have campaigned for egalitarianism, tolerance and pluralism in Irish society, the defeat of our government's restrictive divorce proposals in the recent referendum was a stark reminder of the hold that fundamentalism and prejudice has on the minds of people in areas of high religious observance where one denomination is overwhelmingly dominant.

The grand coalition of Roman Catholic and property interests in the form of the RC hierarchy and the Fianna Fail party overwhelmed Garret Fitzgerald's constitutional crusade. It is absolute fatuous nonsense of Charles Haughey to assert that the result will have little significance in the context of Northern Ireland.

Bill Tormoy, Glanevin Avenue, Ballymun, Dublin.

The menace of Managua

The Guardian is wrong to suggest (Leader, July 6) that the events in Nicaragua pose no threat to the United States. United States policy is determined principally by the fear that failure to control her own base block in Latin America would, first, make it clear to the Soviet Union that intervention elsewhere is relatively risk free; second, demonstrate United States irresolution to China and USA Third-World allies and thereby provoke doubt as to the value of Washington as an ally; and, thirdly, help confirm United States post-Vietnam post-Watergate global paralysis.

It is this paralysis which, it is feared, provided the main opportunity for Soviet geo-political expansion in the second half of the 1970s: the airlifting of Cuban forces into Angola (1975-76) and Ethiopia (1977-78); the support for Vietnamese expansion into Cam-

bodia (1978); and direct Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. Western Europeans, who need only face Soviet power in Europe and whose interests and obligations therefore are only regional in scope, will consequently view the events of Latin America in largely regional terms — a superpower crushing the independence of a desperately poor nation-state that seeks only justice and freedom for her people.

The United States, which must face Soviet power in every continent on earth, and whose interests and obligations are therefore global in range, dare not regard the events in Central America in anything less than universal terms. For the United States, Soviet power is simply too great to take such a risk.

Daniel Parsons, Worthing, Sussex.

BT buy-back plan could hurt Labour

AT ONE time the Labour Party's policy was to nationalise the "top hundred companies" without compensation. The companies were never actually named, and the proposal never appeared in an election manifesto, but its existence as part of party policy satisfied those who believe that clause four of the constitution, which pledges Labour to "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange," is central to its whole purpose.

But nationalisation is not much of a vote-winner, so Labour has come up with a new concept called "social ownership" which is expected to be put to the party conference for approval in October. The first target for social ownership will be British Telecom, which the Government privatised two years ago by selling off 51 per cent of its assets to 1.7 million shareholders in what was described as "the sale of the century".

Labour would give shareholders a choice of cashing in their shares at the 130p which they paid for them (they are at present worth 216p), or of exchanging them, on preferential terms, for non-voting securities which would have to be held for a specific length of time.

This novel scheme would enable Labour to regain control of the industry without having to buy back all the shares.

The party's left wing, however, will almost certainly see this as a betrayal of clause four, and as further evidence of the leadership's readiness to renege on the party's socialist ideology. The right may see it as another vote-loser, since BT's new investors must include pension funds and trade unions, as well as many first-time shareholders who are traditional Labour supporters. A fierce debate seems guaranteed.

From the point of view of the leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, however, Labour must have some policy for countering the Tories' massive sell-off of public assets without an unacceptable level of borrowing and without alienating too many voters, so the social ownership device could also be used to reacquire enterprises such as British Gas and British Airways if Mrs Thatcher persists in selling them.

There is, for the moment, a lull in the privatisation programme. British Airways is still not attractive enough to be sold, and the Government last week abandoned its plans to sell off the country's monopoly water undertakings. The

Government is looking for a period of tranquility between now and the general election, which doubtless explains why it proposes to take no immediate action on the controversial Peacock Report on the future of public service broadcasting. The Prime Minister still wants the BBC to have to compete for advertising revenue; still dislikes the relative independence which the corporation derives from its licence fees; still believes it to be guilty of left-wing bias. But the BBC has friends and admirers, worldwide, so its structure is safeguarded for the immediate future.

Mrs Thatcher's dislike of the BBC is shared by her party chair-

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Environment Secretary, Mr Nicholas Ridley, said the project had merely been postponed, but his announcement was interpreted as an admission either that the ill-conceived scheme had become too unpopular to proceed with, or that it was too complicated to put into effect.

None of the alleged benefits of privatisation — greater competition, financial discipline, improved choice for the consumer — are applicable to the water industry, and there have been growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife.

The prospect of churning for water by usage through meters would also probably lead to reduced consumption, which would mean that profits could only come through increased prices. The City, understandably, came to see it as a poor prospect for investors.

There are increasing signs that

man, Mr Norman Tebbit, who regularly attacks editors, producers, and sometimes journalists for what he believes is their built-in tendency to present views contrary to those of the Government. He has now set up a special "bias monitoring unit" in Conservative Central Office to compile evidence on which complaints to the broadcasting authorities can be based. (Labour, when in office, is equally critical of the BBC, which suggests that the corporation is perhaps not doing too bad a job.)

Last summer's inner city riots in Twickenham, London, were recalled this week when an inquiry headed by Lord Clifford concluded that the worst of the trouble could have been avoided by more sensitive policing and by greater cooperation between the police and the ethnic community on the Broadwater Farm estate.

The Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman, has warned that any recurrence of what he called last summer's "unprecedented level of savagery"

Setback in fight for women priests

THE Movement for the Ordination of Women reacted with defiance to a severe setback at the General Synod of the Church of England in York over the weekend.

A proposal to let women ordained abroad conduct services in England failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority in the houses of clergy and laity.

After winning simple majorities for its motion in all three houses — bishops, clergy and laity — the Movement for the Ordination of Women said: "It will now be impossible to prevent the hundreds of parishes who want women ordained from inviting women priests from abroad from officiating here."

But the Anglo-Catholic pressure group, Ecclesia, responded in a statement: "We now look to the diocesan bishops to ensure that the peace and unity of the Church of

England is not destroyed by the implications of the threat by the Movement for the Ordination of Women to flood England with women priests from abroad."

The motion to admit women priests from abroad won 70 per cent in the house of bishops, 57.4

By Walter Schwarz

per cent in the house of clergy and 62.6 per cent in the house of laity. In the debate, Donances Diani, Moderator of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, asked people who strongly opposed women priests in principle, to abstain in the vote. Only six did.

She argued that the proposed reform meant only that when an Anglican woman ordained abroad "leaves her own province and

comes to us, she is still a priest. Once we depart from this understanding of ordination, we introduce a new and alarming geographical element to our theology."

She said there were 743 Anglican women priests ordained abroad. Of the estimated 66 million baptised Anglicans, 60 million were members of provinces which ordained women or agreed in principle to ordain them.

Supporting the motion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, said: "We cannot have little Englanders in the matter of church unity."

He rejected claims that the measure would complicate relations with Rome, which he argued had maintained its dialogue with the entire Anglican communion despite the ordination of numerous women priests.

Bishop tilts at laser beam miracles

By Walter Schwarz

THE Church of England was thrown into fresh doctrinal confusion on Sunday when the Bishop of Durham, in his strongest challenge to the official view of miracles, suggested that this implied a view of God that was "at best a cultic idol, and at the worst, the very devil."

Choking with emotion in parts of a speech that received an ovation from the York meeting of the General Synod, Dr David Jenkins said that New Testament miracles like the virgin birth and the empty tomb implied that God had "acted something like a divine laser beam which fuses the physical particles into a reality which is both divinely produced and divine."

He asked: "What sort of God are we portraying and believing in if we insist on the divine laser beam type of miracle as the heart and basis of the incarnation and the resurrection?"

Such miracles "would not seem to be the choice" which God would make. "We are faced with the claim that God is prepared to work knockdown physical miracles in order to select a number of people into the secret of His incarnation, resurrection and salvation, but is not prepared to use such methods in order to deliver from Auschwitz, prevent Hiroshima, overcome famine, or bring about a bloodless

transformation of apartheid. Such a God is surely a cultic idol."

Earlier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, defended the bishops' recent report on the nature of Christian belief, issued in response to the Bishop of Durham's doubts on the virgin birth and the empty tomb.

Dr Runcie said: "We recognise honest difficulties in this delicate borderline between event and symbol, historical fact and interpretation."

In implicit criticism of the Bishop of Durham, he said: "Explorers will only receive the patient attention they deserve when they refuse to be lonely pioneers, and declare their solidarity with the household of faith."

Prof. Gemme gardeners' voice

By Martin Walwright

PROFESSOR Alan Gemme whose gentle Scottish voice endear the most vicious w of followers of Gardeners' Qu Time on BBC radio, had died 73.

His scholarly approach, t by 27 years as professor of l at Keele University, was an rable foil to the more e advice of colleagues on the gramme like Bill Sowerbu Fred Loads.

In the academic world h respected as the author of Dc mental Plant Anatomy, co of the first volume of Ch Botanica and contributor of papers to learned journals. f natural ability as a broad brought him a much wider ene.

Professor Gemmell was ed at Ayr Academy and Gl University and his career research botanist, from 1931 his appointment at Keele in took him to Manchester l city, the West of Scotland A tural College and the Midland Forensic Science l tory.

With Messrs Sowerbutt Loads, he was one of the o Gardeners' Question Time when the programme launched in 1950. His col opinions on dying usip wrongly-planted fennel an pros and cons of the mespilis ended when he ret the Isle of Arran in 198; previous year, he had been ed the OBE.

Letters to the Editor are wel but not all can be acknow We don't like cutting the sometimes this is necessary them in the page — short stand a better chance. Send t The Guardian Weekly, PO 8 Chesham, Cheshire SK8 England.

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THE Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, will urge the African front-line states during visits to Lusaka and Harare this week to give his "peace mission" to South Africa more time and not confront Mrs Thatcher with a sanctions ultimatum during the mini Commonwealth summit in London on August 3.

The likelihood is that he will be given a dusty answer, and told that Mrs Thatcher's honourable and sensible course now is to take the lead in going to the United Nations Security Council with a proposal for mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

But the Foreign Secretary, having now been assured that President P. W. Botha and members of his Cabinet will agree to meet him during the last week of July, is already planning a second trip, this time mainly to South Africa, despite the rebuffs he has received

Howe asks for more time

By Hella Pick

from all sides in that country. He is determined to persevere with his search for miracles.

He will appeal to President Kenneth Kaunda and to Mr Robert Mugabe to support his efforts to convince South Africa's anti-apartheid leaders, especially the gaol ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, that they should agree to meet him when he goes to South Africa.

It is recognised in London that it is crucial for Sir Geoffrey to see Mr Mandela as early as possible in an effort to secure his support. Without his blessing, it is unlikely that any black leader in South Africa can be persuaded to meet the British Foreign Secretary, apart from Chief Gathuuthi Buthelesi.

But Mr Mandela is said to be very reluctant. His wife, Winnie, has already said that she would not meet the Foreign Secretary.

President Botha is playing hard to get. He kept the British Government waiting for most of last week before indicating that he was too busy for a meeting this week — he is said to be on holiday — but would be prepared to schedule one before the end of the month.

The ANC leaders in exile are saying they are willing to talk with Sir Geoffrey while he is in the Zambian capital. He wants to use the opportunity to urge the ANC to overcome their suspicions of British motives, and to accept Mrs

Thatcher's view that Britain deserves to be given this last chance to try and pull the South African authorities out of the quagmire of their own making.

He will ask the front-line states and the exiled ANC leaders to reflect that Britain is now acting on behalf of the EEC, and has the support of the US Administration and effectively of all the major Western industrialised states with a big economic stake in South Africa. If Pretoria will still listen to any outsider, then his voice would surely carry more weight than Commonwealth threats of sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary believes he has no alternative but to warn

that the South African Government's response to his "peace mission" is likely to be slow in coming.

The Foreign Office has also now realised that it forgot to take into account the fact that the National Party holds its annual congress on August 12, and that Mr Botha would be most unlikely to risk any concessions before that important meeting, even if he were inclined to do so.

The Foreign Secretary has to convince the Commonwealth that President Botha should be given the benefit of the doubt, at least until then. But Britain, in making the case for patience until August 12, also knows that a failure by President Botha to announce major concessions will produce a situation where Mrs Thatcher will come under irresistible pressure to opt for South Africa's economic and political isolation.



"Actually this is quite promising — I still have my foot in the door!"

Restrictions on Winnie Mandela lifted

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

This report was compiled subject to the emergency regulations imposed on the press by the South African Government.

ALL restrictions on Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the gaol ANC National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, have been lifted. For the first time in nearly a decade, she is as free as any of her black South African compatriots.

Captain Henry Bock, a spokesman of the Ministry of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed on Monday that Mrs Mandela was no longer restricted under South Africa's Internal Security Act.

She can now be quoted by the South African press on two conditions. Her statements must not be subversive as defined in the emergency regulations and must not be calculated to further the objects of the outlawed ANC. Those restrictions apply to all South Africans.

Captain Bock advised the media to take legal advice before quoting Mrs Mandela, a forthright woman who, in the past, repeatedly defied the ministerial decree prohibiting her from living in her Soweto home and from talking to the press.

The lifting of the curbs on the "mother of the nation," as Mrs Mandela's admirers have dubbed her, followed a Supreme Court ruling that it was not enough for the Minister of Law to state that he was satisfied that it was in the interests of law and order to restrict any person. He had, the court found, to state why he thought the person was a threat to public order.

Captain Bock's confirmation that Mrs Mandela is now as free as any black South African came only hours before a strong attack on her husband by the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation as a "self-confessed Communist revolutionary who... still believes in violence as a means of achieving political change."

The attack on Mr Mandela was linked to the planned mission to South Africa by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to try to persuade the South African Government to release Mr Mandela and to unban the ANC.

The SABC said that the ANC's leaders refused to consider abandoning violence and were, moreover, closely tied to the Soviet Union through the South African Communist Party.

Leading South African businessmen and industrialists earlier called on the Government to release Mr Mandela. In a statement published in Johannesburg's Sunday Star newspaper, Mr Gavin Rely, chairman of the giant Anglo American Mining Corporation, said: "Whether one likes the ANC or not — and I personally do not like its policy of violence nor its Marxist economic thinking — it constitutes an important factor in the South African political set-up."

He added that Mr Mandela, who is serving a life sentence after being convicted in 1964 of sabotage, "has become a myth, and I believe the ANC should be challenged for what it is."

A number of other leading South African businessmen supported the appeal for Mr Mandela's release, including the heads of the food group, Premier Milling, the biggest sugar corporation, Tongaat-Hulett, the main retail chain stores and the southern African division of BP.

More than 2,000 striking black miners last week forced the closure of four De Beers diamond mines in Kimberley, in the northern Cape, as the protest by South Africa's black workers against the detention of their trade union leaders gathered momentum.

A spokesman for De Beers commented that the strike had been triggered by demands for the release of union leaders. He recalled that the chairman of the company, Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, had warned the Minister of Law and Order last month that critical wage negotiations were pending, and that the detentions would make it impossible for the unions to represent the workers.

Mr Marcel Golding, the spokesman for the black National Union of Mineworkers said that some 8,000 miners had also staged go-slows at Free State Consolidated, which employs more than 50,000 miners. In reply, the owners, Anglo-American Corporation, said that 3,000 miners were involved in a virtual strike at one shaft at Free State Geduld, a mine in a giant complex which employs 12,000 miners. The miners showed up but "were not producing much," the corporation spokesman, Mr Paul Clother, said.

Reports of the detention of 1,000 dismissed municipal workers in the black township of Tembisa are likely to aggravate existing tensions. The Bureau for Information declined to comment on the ground that it was prohibited from doing so by the emergency regulations.

The Foreign Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, was at the core of major controversy last week, after a defiant speech in which he virtually invited the world to impose sanctions so that South Africa could demonstrate its will and ability to withstand them.

His speech was sharply criticised by Mr Ray Swart of the Progressive Federal Party. Mr Swart said: "He is inviting sanctions as if he

has some sort of death wish. He sounds like a latter-day Ian Smith."

Charges of murder, arson and assault will be brought against 780 people detained under the state of emergency, South Africa's Bureau for Information said.

"When formally charged, the accused will have normal access to their legal representatives, and process of law, will take its normal course." This was the first official indication that the number detained under emergency regulations runs at least to hundreds.

Three groups of people had already been charged with attempted murder for trying to "necklace" people by placing a burning tyre around their necks, the bureau said.

The decision to prosecute the 780 detainees contrasts with the failure to charge all but a handful of those interned during the partial emergency between July 21 last year and March 7 this year.

According to the Detainee Parents' Support Committee, more than 7,992 people were detained then, but only about 2 per cent were charged.

The committee said that it plans to appeal to the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and Lawyers for Human Rights to try to persuade the Government to break the silence about arrests. It urged that the names of detainees be published immediately upon detention, saying that it knew of 2,800 people who had been taken into custody or reported missing.

The bomb explosion in central Johannesburg on Tuesday last week was caused by a limpet mine of Soviet origin. A further bomb

exploded outside a police station in Cape Town on Thursday last week, injuring a policeman and a policeman, and bringing to 12 the number of bomb explosions since the declaration of the state of emergency. The explosions have claimed the lives of three women, two white and one Indian. Nearly 100 people have been injured, most of them white. The bombs do not appear to have seriously unnerved whites, but they have certainly brought the reality of the war home to them.

The Citizen, which was founded on money provided secretly by the now-defunct department of information, said: "The blast in central Johannesburg in which six women and two children were injured — one of them a baby — is another example of the utter callousness and unconcern for life and limb that the African National Congress displays."

Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu condemned the bomb attacks in towns and cities, and called for talks to resolve political differences. Describing the bomb attacks as "acts of terrorism," Bishop Tutu said: "The problems of our country cannot be solved by the violence of injustice, oppression and exploitation, nor by that of those who seek to overthrow such a repressive system."

Blacks suspected that the attacks were the work of rightwingers, while whites blamed them on black radicals. Bishop Tutu said: "There is still much goodwill left. Can't we get together and talk? Can't we get recognised as authentic leaders and representatives of all our people get together and talk?"

There had been previous incidents which might have caused fires in her apartment, says the report, which fails to say exactly where and how the fire started.

The fire destroyed the Carlton

Government wants free market in broadcasting

A FREE market in television and radio broadcasting with possible "pay-as-you-view" metering to replace the licence system received broad approval from the Government last week.

However, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, made it clear that legislation based on the Peacock report into future funding of broadcasting would be shelved until after the next general election. He confirmed that ministers do not accept the proposal to weaken regulations on good taste, decency and political balance.

A member of the Peacock committee described one of its most radical proposals — hiving off BBC Radios 1 and 2 to commercial operators who could take advertising — as daft and damaging.

A few Conservative MPs were disappointed that the BBC would not be quickly made to take advertising and to cut the licence fee. However, it seemed that there was little pressure on Mr Hurd from his backbenchers, save for some ritualised criticism of the BBC's supposed anti-TV bias.

A Cabinet committee chaired by the Prime Minister is to give detailed consideration of the report with publication of a green paper on radio broadcasting scheduled for the autumn. But the broadcasting bill to implement reform will not be presented until after the general election.

The Government is also likely to

have to produce a holding position on the television licence fee before the next election. It has been pegged at £58 until the end of March, 1988, but before then the BBC will need some indication of its likely income for the following period.

Mr Hurd said that the committee's plans for a competitive market in television services "fits well with our general philosophy". But he rejected proposals to put broadcasting on a regulatory footing equal to that of the press on matters of good taste and political balance.

The next licence round begins next year, when the IBA is due to advertise franchises for independent broadcasting contracts for the eight years from 1990. Mr Hurd told MPs that although no decision had been made on the licence auction idea the IBA would be obliged to keep the option open as the franchising procedure began.

The BBC and ITV welcomed the report's conclusion that the BBC should continue to be funded by the licence fee system for the time being, and should not have to take advertising. There was less enthusiasm for privatising Radios 1 and 2 to take advertising.

The director-general of the BBC, Mr Alastair Milne, said: "It remains our policy to try to offer an effective range of programmes to all sections of the public. We believe therefore that Radio 1 and

2 listeners have the same claim to a share of the BBC licence fee as do the listeners to Radios 3 and 4."

The ITV companies were surprised and disappointed that a majority on the committee had advocated putting their franchises up for auction. A tendering system would lead towards concentration on "profit performance rather than programme performance," they said.

By Dennis Barker and John Carvel

But the most spirited clash came within the committee at the report's launch in London.

Professor Alastair Hetherington and Miss Judith Chalmers, the broadcaster, did not accept the committee's majority recommendation that the two most popular BBC radio channels should be hived off. They supported a rival recommendation that the BBC should be given the option of selling off the channels.

Professor Hetherington said: "It is daft because no-one has thought out what would be sold. You cannot sell Jimmy Young, even if you wanted to. It is damaging because it does break up the universality of the BBC's radio services, and it is damaging to the External Services."

The recommendation that ITV franchises be auctioned to the

highest bidder was not daft but unworkable, he said. The Independent Broadcasting Authority would have to choose between franchisers with a track record, of making programmes and newcomers with no record but plenty of money.

The committee makes concrete recommendations only for the first of what it sees as a three-stage process towards a free market pay-per-programme television system in the 21st century.

In stage one, the licence fee would be indexed to the cost of living and the BBC would carry on virtually as at present. In stage two, which the committee admits is speculative, the BBC would go over to a subscription service by pay-channel "well into the 1990s".

In the third stage there would be "pay-per-programme" subscription

with an increased number of programme suppliers, of which the BBC would be only one.

The committee suggests that new television sets should be adapted to prevent programmes being seen by anyone not paying a subscription. It suggests a date for this not later than January 1, 1988, and envisages that the device would cost about £25 at today's prices.

Several suggestions are made on how to make paying the licence fee more palatable. They include instalments, and exemption for pensioners and people on supplementary benefit.

The committee wants to reduce the cost of the television licence by charging at least £10 for a car radio and thinks that black and white television licences should be nearer the price of those for colour.

Police armoured force approved

SIR Kenneth Newman gave a warning last week that a recurrence of what he termed "unprecedented level of savagery" in London riots last autumn could mean police retaliation with plastic bullets, CS gas and armoured vehicles such as those used in Northern Ireland.

The Metropolitan Police commissioner's warning came with the publication of his Public Order Review of his force's action at Broadwater Farm, Tottenham, and Brixton, when PC Keith Blacklock and Mr David Hodge, a press photographer, were fatally injured.

Later, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, announced in a Commons' written reply that he had given permission for the police to buy 24 bullet proof vehicles and 80 armoured personnel carriers to protect them against gunshots and petrol bombs which were used in last year's riots.

Seven hundred additional radios and 1,500 long truncheons will also be purchased.

These truncheons — 2ft 4in long — would be deployed, Mr Hurd said, by police officers carrying riot shields "only in a situation of extreme disorder, where other

methods have failed or are unlikely to succeed."

Their use could only be authorised by an officer of at least Commander rank, and used under the control and direction of the senior officer in charge at the scene of a riot.

The Home Secretary, who welcomed Sir Kenneth's review, reiterated his backing for the

armoured vehicles for other such events in the future.

Sir Kenneth said that the public should not be unnecessarily alarmed: "I think the public will understand that when the police are faced with the level of violence with guns, petrol bombs and other quite horrendous instruments that the police need a higher level of capability."

CS gas and plastic bullets were, he said, all weapons of "last resort."

Water cannon are still being tested by the Home Office. But they are, so far, considered too cumbersome to use in narrow streets, where they could themselves become a rioters' target.

Sir Kenneth said that apparatus which could generate a "shrill sound" to divert rioters had been abandoned as unsuitable.

The review rejects creation of a "third force" — or riot police squad — because the force's resources could not afford it.

But Sir Kenneth said that newly formed territorial support groups in each of London's eight police areas which now numbers 800 men would "take us to a point midway to a third force."

By Gareth Parry

commissioner over the use, under the threat of extreme disorder, of plastic bullets and CS gas.

Sir Kenneth conceded at a press conference last week that the police had some difficulties in dealing with last autumn's riots.

These included the lack of adequate radio communication and the lack of time to brief officers which resulted in abandonment of a contingency plan to deal with trouble in the Broadwater Farm estate.

He said the use of firearms against police in Tottenham for the first time in a riot on mainland Britain made it imperative that police should be prepared, with

Palace fire drills to be enforced

FIRE precautions at royal palaces are to be formally checked as a result of a highly critical report, published last week, on the fire at Hampton Court Palace in March.

The report, by Sir John Garlick, recommended that realistic fire drills are carried out. It finds that the fire was probably started by a naked flame in a grace and favour apartment around midnight on March 31.

The body of Lady Gale, aged 86, the widow of General Sir Richard Gale, was found in the main bedroom of her apartment. She died from carbon monoxide poisoning.

There had been previous incidents which might have caused fires in her apartment, says the report, which fails to say exactly where and how the fire started.

The fire destroyed the Carlton

gallery, a small part of the Wren south gallery, and many works of art.

The report dismisses suggestions that it was started deliberately to destroy the Carlton gallery panelling, which was evidence in a two-year fraud squad investigation into work done under contract by the Property Services Agency. Papers in the case have been passed

to the Director of Public Prosecutions, Scotland Yard said.

The fire was discovered after an intruder alarm was activated at 5.20am, but the automatic fire detection system did not operate until about 6.15am.

Earlier discovery of the fire would not have averted Lady Gale's death, but would have prevented damage.

Sir John could not establish why the fire was not discovered earlier, but probably the automatic fire detection system had been unintentionally made ineffective.

The report offers and then dismisses various possible explanations on how the fire started.

It treats with caution the possibility that smoke detectors had been deliberately covered with polythene to prevent further false alarms. Palace officials had already forbidden this, after finding a detector covered in a room used by one of the "cottage industries".

Detailed recommendations for improving the fire alarm system include putting in a memory facility to record which alarms worked when. More effective fire drills with the fire brigade and palace staff and more training are also recommended.

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THE WEEK

UNDER cover of a new security plan, Syrian troops from the elite "special forces" appeared in the streets of West Beirut for the first time since the Syrian army was driven from the Lebanese capital during the 1982 Israeli invasion.

Informal sources said the soldiers — reported 200 in all — arrived in West Beirut from the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley to join a small but steadily growing Syrian military presence in West Beirut, temporarily headed by General Ghazi Kanaan, head of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon and reportedly including five colonels, at the head of an 86-man "observer force."

Nicaragua has expelled Bishop Pablo Vega for what the Government described as "anti-patriotic and criminal behaviour". Bishop Vega, vice-president of the Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference, is an outspoken critic of the Sandinistas.

Nicaragua's Catholic prime minister described the expulsion as "a violation of human rights", and the Pope, speaking in Colombia described it as "an almost incredible act".

The Government said Bishop Vega's support of the contra had made him an accessory to a mine landmine explosion in northern Nicaragua which killed 32 civilians on board a bus. The attack happened at Boqueron in Jinotega province, about 100 miles north-east of Managua. The victims included 12 children, 12 women and eight men.

POLICE shot two members of a Sikh extremist gang that rampaged through the Punjab, shooting dead six people and injuring two children.

The gunbattle came during 24 hours of violence in the north Indian state, in which 13 people were killed in disturbances sparked by extremists seeking a separate Sikh nation. So far this month, 22 people have been killed in extremist violence.

Police also said gunmen killed a parliamentarian in an attack on the New Delhi home of Mrs Gurinder Kaur Bhat, a Sikh who leads the Congress Party in the Punjab state legislature.

MR JAQVIRAN RAM, 40 years the standard-bearer of India's Harijan (Untouchable) community, died in New Delhi, aged 78. He was one of the last survivors in the present Parliament of the Indian government that paved the way for independence. After holding ministerial posts in several Congress administrations he joined the Opposition when Mrs Gandhi called an election in 1977. After the Janata Party victory, he was disappointed at not being chosen as the first Harijan Prime Minister, settling reluctantly for the defence ministry and one of two deputy memberships.

THREE more generals have been appointed to the Polish Communist Party Politburo. They are General Jozef Baryla, who oversees social and ideological matters, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the Internal Affairs Minister, and General Florian Siwicki, the Defence Minister. Gorbachev seal of approval, page 12.

MOZAMBIQUE has accused Malawi of helping South African-backed rebels logistically and materially in their attacks on Mozambique targets. The country's leading military figure, Col. Gen. Sebastiao Mabote, accused South Africa of trying to divide Mozambique at the Zambezi and Save rivers.

Mozambique and other frontline States have made recent undisclosed and unsuccessful diplomatic approaches to ask Dr Banda's Government to halt his aid to South African military and propaganda efforts whose use of Malawi is increasing.

THE Paris police chief, Mr Guy Fougier, has resigned in a public row with the interior Minister, Mr Charles Pasqua, who accused him on television of rigging crime statistics to please the former Socialist government. His resignation is likely to cast doubt on new security measures in the capital instituted by Mr Pasqua, who has been leading a law-and-order campaign.

THE killing by Peru's armed forces of between 250 and 400 prisoners in three Lima jails has brought the resignation of the Justice Minister, Mr Luis Gonzalez Posada. Mr Gonzalez Posada's dismissal came hours after that of General Maximiliano Martinez, commander of the small Republican Guard paramilitary police force. President Garcia has accused the Republican Guard of having slaughtered more than 100 guerrilla prisoners after they had surrendered at Lujáncho jail.

THE Reagan Administration is getting rid of its ambassador in Honduras, Mr John Ferch, as part of its campaign to step up the pressure on Nicaragua. No successor has been named yet but analysts expect "a real driver" of US policy in Central America, Mr Ferch, who drew criticism for his alleged failure to mobilise the Honduran Government to mount more vigorous protests over the Nicaraguan invasion in March.

A PIANIST from Belfast, Barry Douglas, won the top prize in the International Tchaikovsky competition in Moscow. It was the first time since 1950 that a foreigner has taken first prize without splitting the award with a Soviet musician.

Douglas, 26, of Belfast, who studied at the Royal College of Music in London, impressed juries with the strength and brightness of his playing. In his performance of Tchaikovsky's Concerto No. 1 in B-flat Minor drew a 10-minute ovation.

NZ lets French agents go

By Campbell Page in Paris and Ian Templeton in Wellington

THE TWO French secret agents involved in the bombing of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, which killed a photographer, are to leave jail in New Zealand immediately for three years "confinement" on the South Pacific atoll of Hao, a French territory with an open air cinema, bare, and a night club.

The release of the two agents, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur, is part of a UN-mediated deal between France and New Zealand, which also includes an official French apology to the New Zealand Government for the attack on the ship a year ago, payment of nearly 25 million in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports.

France and New Zealand on Monday welcomed the agreement, arranged by the UN Secretary General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, but there were signs in New Zealand of a political row over its acceptance. The Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, told a news conference: "I feel an amazing sense of vindication. We will receive an unqualified apology from the French Government."

But the leader of the Opposition, Mr Jim Bolger, said that New Zealand had been "humiliated" and Mr Lange "made to look an idiot." He recalled that as recently as April the Prime Minister had said the agents were not for sale.

Such criticisms are likely to be reinforced by details now emerging of life on Hao, a French military staging base for the nuclear test range at Moruroa. According to Mr Lange, Hao is a desolate place with few facilities. But French military

personnel who have served there speak of a pleasant officers' club, bars, and a night club, excellent housing, and sailing and water sports in the lagoon.

In Paris, it emerged that the two agents will have full access to family and friends but will not be allowed to leave the island without the agreement of the two governments. Nor can they give interviews or write for publication.

A spokesman for the French Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, emphasised that they were being transferred to French territory and the Prime Minister himself referred to the new assignments awaiting them, while Mr Lange underlined that they were not being set free.

The beneficiaries of the settlement were widely known as the Turenge couple because they entered New Zealand as a married couple on forged Swiss passports using the fictitious name.

Both coped well with the stress of trial and imprisonment. Captain Prieur, a 36-year-old woman, passed her time jogging, knitting, and listening to music. Major Mafart, aged 35 and a seasoned campaigner for the intelligence services, pursued his interest in sport and guitar-playing. Mr Chirac on Monday praised "the exemplary dignity" with which both officers had been serving their sentences.

Mr Perez de Cuellar came closer to the New Zealand than the French position in settling a figure for compensation — \$7 million instead of the \$4 million suggested by Paris and the \$9 million sought by Wellington.

Mr Chirac will also deliver a full and formal apology to New Zealand for the attack on the Rainbow Warrior and the breach of international law.

France will end its war of attrition against New Zealand imports. The French authorities have been using import licences and regulations to block consignments and apply pressure on the New Zealand Government.

In the settlement, France undertakes not to oppose butter imports through the EEC to Britain in 1987 and 1988, and not to take any measures to block meat imports to the EEC.

Mr Lange told reporters that the New Zealand Government regarded the Secretary-General's ruling as a fair and just resolution of the differences between France and New Zealand over the Rainbow Warrior bombing. The ruling specifically met New Zealand's requirements, he said — for an apology, for compensation, for a lifting of trade restraints, and for the continued detention of the two agents.

New Zealand also regarded it as fundamental that a mechanism has been provided for arbitration should any dispute arise, and a three-monthly report is to be made to the UN Secretary-General on the situation of Mafart and Prieur in Hao.

Mr Lange said that the Secretary-General's determination that the two agents should be detained in Hao had "an exquisite irony which will not be lost on the French."

"It is, I believe, an appropriate outcome, albeit one that was unexpected," he said.

Hussein clampdown on PLO

THE Jordanian Government announced on Monday that it is closing down all 25 offices of Mr Yasser Arafat's mainstream Fatah guerrilla group in Amman and expelling a number of PLO personnel.

The decision, which could have profound consequences for Middle East politics, follows growing tension between Jordan and the PLO, which began in February when King Hussein announced he was breaking off political cooperation with the guerrilla organisation. Fatah is the largest component of the PLO.

Jordan's official Petra news agency said that the government decision had been taken in response to a statement by Fatah's Revolutionary Council in Tunis on June 18.

According to Radio Monte Carlo, the expulsion order includes Mr Khalil Al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, Mr Arafat's deputy as

By our Middle East Correspondent

commander of all PLO forces and the most senior Palestinian official still living in Jordan.

"We regret this spirit of revenge because we are trying to preserve brotherly relations," Mr Al-Wazir told reporters in Amman. But he said he believed he would be expelled.

Jordanian officials said that the decision would not affect 12 PLO offices dealing with non-military Palestinian affairs, and it seems likely that members of the PLO's executive committee and departments dealing with the affairs of the Israeli-occupied West Bank will be permitted to stay.

The Jordanian Government statement took care to note that Jordan would continue to work with the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" — a position it has enjoyed since the 1974 Arab summit.

But there was no disguising the fact that King Hussein's move was intended — and widely interpreted — as a grievous blow to Mr Arafat at a time when the PLO is politically and militarily weak and its membership is scattered. The decision leaves open the likelihood that Jordan will step up its recent attempts to win back influence in the West Bank and possibly consider entering peace talks with Israel.

Ms Anna Siniara, editor of the East Jerusalem newspaper Al-Fajr and a leading PLO supporter in the West Bank, said that the Jordanian move meant a final and irrevocable break with the PLO and that Amman would now lose all its remaining influence.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES			
	Starting Rates July 7	Previous Closing Rates	
Australia	2 4135-2 4175	2 3807-2 3858	
Austria	21 35-22 54	22 51-23 54	
Belgium	68 25-68 45	68 42-68 62	
Canada	2 1148-2 1178	2 1237-2 1274	
Denmark	12 38-12 41	12 42-12 45	
France	10 70-10 71	10 56-10 57	
Germany	3 34-3 35	3 34-3 35	
Hong Kong	12 04-12 05	12 04-12 05	
Ireland	1 1070-1 1080	1 1100-1 1110	
Italy	2 285-2 286	2 284-2 285	
Japan	246 44-246 53	247 25-247 34	
Netherlands	3 763-3 768	3 763-3 767	
Norway	11 40-11 42	11 44-11 46	
Portugal	225 81-227 49	227 53-228 22	
Spain	212 54-212 84	213 62-213 81	
Sweden	10 83-10 85	10 88-10 91	
Switzerland	2 72-2 73	2 713-2 717	
USA	1 5240-1 5250	1 5401-1 5410	
ECU	1 5250-1 5260	1 5302-1 5312	
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THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1988

American scientists to inspect on site

By Martin Walker in Moscow

A GROUP of American scientists were due to leave Moscow this week to install for the first time seismic monitoring devices around the main Soviet underground test site for nuclear weapons at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan.

The scientists, from the US-based Natural Resources Defence Council, are placing the instruments as part of a private venture, with official US Government backing. But their action could embarrass the Reagan Administration, which continues to base its rejection of any nuclear test ban agreement on the issue of verification.

The team of nine scientists will monitor activity at the

Semipalatinsk site by installing three sets of instruments. They will build up a set of measurements of local seismic activity, and assess the effect of earthquakes and even US nuclear tests.

The result should be a virtually foolproof system to check whether the Russians are abiding by any future test ban treaty.

The team has been welcomed by the Soviet authorities, which are still abiding by a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons tests. The American scientists have undertaken to provide both the US and the Soviet Governments with data they collect.

There would be useful data to record even if there were no Soviet

chemical weapons negotiations. But the Foreign Office was surprised by General Chervov's optimism, and appeared doubtful that any breakthrough had yet been achieved on provisions for compliance with a chemical weapons ban, in particular the circumstances under which the Soviet Union would agree to on-site inspection.

This issue has been central to the negotiations as the Soviet Union's insistence that the private sector, including multinational companies, must be covered by the provisions of the treaty as well as state-owned facilities.

General Chervov is head of the directorate of the Soviet chief of staff, and is one of the Kremlin's senior spokesmen on arms control. Meanwhile, Congressional pressure is building up on the US Administration to halt production of the troubled BigEye chemical bomb in the wake of the latest test data. Pentagon officials judge the most recent tests to be a qualified success, although at least one key component failed repeatedly.

But a bipartisan group of 20 senators wrote to the Defence Secretary, Mr Casper Weinberger, on June 26, saying: "All of us will vote against producing any weapon on that has failed its tests for utility, reliability, and effectiveness."

The BigEye bomb, one of several new weapons being developed by the Pentagon to replace existing chemical arms stockpiles, can explode on rough congressional treatment later this month. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives are due to consider moves

Mr Weinberger may also fear that Administration moderates will be tempted to slow research on Star Wars in exchange for an agreement with the Soviet Union to reduce strategic nuclear systems.

By Hella Pick

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The decision came after weeks of protest by human rights organisations, university professors and Jewish organisations against the award of a doctorate to Mr Henri Roques, aged 66, who has a long history of association with Neo-Nazi groups, including the former Black Internationalists.

A local paper revealed that Mr Roques, a historian specialising in anti-semitic research, had been awarded his doctorate by a secretly convened university jury at Nantes, western France, chaired by the local university's history department's head, Professor Jean-

Marcos loyalists surrender after putsch fails

By our Foreign Staff

A counter-revolution by supporters of the deposed Philippines president, Ferdinand Marcos, collapsed after about 200 rebel soldiers surrendered to the government. A senior military official, Colonel Emiliano Temple, said on Monday the soldiers gave up at dawn after government troops backed by tanks and armoured personnel carriers sealed the area around the hotel in central Manila where the 75-year-old former Foreign Minister, Arturo Tolentino, proclaimed a government in the name of Mr Marcos.

Mr Tolentino and six disaffected forces generals lacked the backing of armoured units, which were reported earlier to be advancing into central Manila, or of the public at large. No violence was reported in the capital or elsewhere.

The putsch attempt had appeared doomed after a claim by Mr Tolentino that he had been joined by Mrs Aquino's influential Defence Minister, Mr Juan Ponce Enrile, was quickly denied by Mr Enrile in a radio interview. "I thank them for the offer," Mr Enrile said, "but I am not looking for a new job."

President Aquino, speaking in Mindanao in the south of the country, said earlier that a delegation of senior officers had been sent to negotiate with the rebels but indicated that they did not represent a serious threat to her government. However, all those involved could face charges of sedition, she said. The army chief of staff, General Fidel Ramos, who was also out of town at the time of the attempted putsch, reacted calmly to the news, saying: "We have the situation under control... we have the support of all the services of the army."

A day of confusing and slightly bizarre events began with the announcement by Mr Tolentino, that he was taking over as acting President and was in the process of forming a new government.

Mr Tolentino, who ran as former

President Marcos's vice-presidential candidate in the elections in February this year, had himself sworn in by a former Supreme Court judge, Serafin Cuevas, saying that he would carry on until Mr Marcos returned from Hawaii. He had acted, he said, on Mr Marcos's orders, and added that after he took the oath, he telephoned Mr Marcos, who congratulated him.

An hour earlier, five truckloads of troops with Marcos campaign ribbons tied to the barrels of their guns had joined the pro-Marcos demonstrators in a park near the hotel.

Reading a letter he said was written by Mr Marcos, Mr Tolentino said: "I hereby order that in view of (my) unavoidable absence from the Philippines, I authorise Tolentino to be the legitimate head of the country until such times that I return..."

Among the six generals siding with Mr Tolentino were Brigadier-General Jose Zume and Brigadier-General Prospero Olivas, a former paramilitary police chief, who was one of 25 people acquitted last December of the 1983 murder of Mrs Aquino's husband, Benigno.

Despite the rebels' claim that he had joined their cause, Mr Enrile was swift to disavow any collusion. The Philippines, he said: "Could not afford two governments. I would just like to ask the people to be calm and not to panic. Let us avoid violence." Mr Enrile's swift support for Mrs Aquino was said by observers to be crucial to the collapse of the putsch.

Mr Marcos's activities in Hawaii have become a source of increasing embarrassment to Washington. The State Department, in a prepared statement, said: "We understand that General Ramos and Defence Minister Enrile are working closely with President Aquino to bring matters under control. The US strongly supports the Government of President Aquino and is against efforts such as these to undermine it."

Drug dealers hanged

TWO Australian heroin traffickers, Brian Chambers and Kevin Barlow, were hanged shortly before dawn in Kuala Lumpur on Monday, after a flurry of last-minute appeals to the Malaysian authorities for mercy or a stay of execution failed.

The two were the first Westerners to hang under Malaysia's tough anti-drugs laws, which prescribe death for anyone convicted of having over 15 grammes of heroin.

Chambers and Barlow, who was born in Stoke and who also held British nationality, were arrested on the resort island of Penang in November, 1983, with 180 grammes of heroin and given mandatory death sentences last July. An appeal failed last December.

Chambers and Barlow were hanged despite appeals for clemency from the Australian and British Prime Ministers and from the human rights group Amnesty Int.

Top historian suspended

By Paul Webster in Paris

A FRAUD perpetrated by extreme rightwingers intended to back the Nazis at the Nazi gas chambers never existed was condemned by the Universities Minister, Mr Alain Devaquet, last week, when he suspended one of France's top historians from his university post and cancelled a doctorate secretly awarded to a rightwing militant.

The decision came after weeks of protest by human rights organisations, university professors and Jewish organisations against the award of a doctorate to Mr Henri Roques, aged 66, who has a long history of association with Neo-Nazi groups, including the former Black Internationalists.

A local paper revealed that Mr Roques, a historian specialising in anti-semitic research, had been awarded his doctorate by a secretly convened university jury at Nantes, western France, chaired by the local university's history department's head, Professor Jean-

Claude Riviere. Other universities had refused to consider the thesis, but Professor Riviere, who specialises in medieval Provence, is editor of an extreme rightwing magazine and an active member of extreme rightwing lobby groups.

Another member of the jury which met secretly in the summer recess last year was a leading member of the PFR — the New Forces Party — an extreme rightwing rival to the French National Front.

Mr Roques, an outspoken supporter of Nazi Germany, described the minister's decision as "intellectual terrorism" and said that he stood by his analysis, in which he claimed it was physically impossible for the Germans to murder millions of Jews in gas chambers. He based his 270-page thesis on an examination of the confessions of an SS officer, Kurt Gerstein, who helped to install the first gas chambers in Poland.

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ANC will end violence only when South Africa agrees transfer of power

THE African National Congress is bracing itself for a sustained campaign by the British, American, and other Western governments to "draw its teeth" as a liberation movement.

As Sir Geoffrey Howe prepares to visit South Africa to try to pre-empt mounting pressures for sanctions against the white minority regime, interviews with senior ANC officials make it clear that the ANC is convinced that a two-pronged Western Strategy is now underway.

The first prong is to try to set up some sort of process of mediation or dialogue as a replacement for sanctions, with the argument that any tightening of sanctions is premature, as long as talks are going on. The second is to press the ANC to call off its armed struggle or "suspend the violence," in order to create, it will be claimed, a better climate for government concessions.

In both cases ANC officials expect a heightening of the long-standing but hitherto spasmodic efforts by Western governments to split the ANC by describing it as Communist-dominated. The aim is expected to focus on describing the ANC as consisting of moderates and hard-liners, with the ANC executive's Communist Party members cast as the latter.

So far the campaign has had little success, partly, as one ANC official put it, because "nothing is being offered by the regime which could conceivably attract non-Communist nationalists. Not even the formality of democracy is being offered, let alone the substance."

The ANC has long had a close link with the South African Communist Party, which was founded ten years after it, in 1922. At the funeral in Mozambique in March of Moses Mabhida, the general secretary of the SACP, Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president, praised the "deep-seated feeling of revolutionary unity and interdependence" between the ANC, the Communist Party, and the trade union movement.

Although the SACP had revolutionary aims long before the ANC espoused them, officials say that in recent debates on key questions such as negotiating strategies and attacks on civilian targets in South Africa the ANC's Communists take differing positions among themselves, and are by no means always more radical than the non-Communists.

The ANC has never publicly acknowledged how many of its 30-member executive committee are Communists. But officials say the figure of 23 alleged by the South African Government is a gross exaggeration. To take just one example, the ANC's general secretary, Alfred Nzo, alleged by Pretoria to be a Communist, is not.

One of the open SACP members is the chief of staff of the ANC military wing, Joe Slovo. He was in the party before it was banned in 1950. Now the party's chairman, he says: "The South African Communist Party always has been and continues to be an influential part of the struggle. We can't be wished away. Our position has been won by contribution, not by manipulation."

Mr Slovo's wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a South African Government letter bomb. "In a sense," he goes on, "the SACP pioneered much of what the national liberation movement now stands for. We were the only non-racial political party in South Africa until last year when the ANC opened its top ranks to whites. We were the first with the concept of majority rule in

the slogan of 'A Black Republic' as far back as 1929.

"I don't want to suggest that we're competing with the ANC, but that was at a time when the ANC was rather moderate, singing 'God Save the King' at the end of public meetings."

The ANC's radicalisation and its close links with the SACP began in the mid-1940s with the then young Turks in the ANC Youth League, like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu.

Mr Slovo defends the policy of anonymity of SACP members. The party was already working underground for a decade before the ANC was also banned. "No communist party which is forced to work in clandestinity, has ever come out publicly, not in Portugal, Spain, or anywhere else. We would be the first to be targeted, if we all came out." Mr Slovo acknowledges that anonymity makes it easy for opponents to smear the ANC but says that this is one of the realities which has to be faced. The smears would not abate just because the SACP declared its members.

He describes the party's role as being "to act in an uninhibited way to assert the dominant role of the working class in the liberation alliance headed by the ANC." Both the party and the ANC accept this

By Jonathan Steele

dominant role of working people in the coalition of class forces which are fighting for national liberation, "but the ANC cannot and should not commit itself exclusively to workers' aspirations as a class, nor should it act as their political vanguard."

A recent internal party discussion document was obtained by South African Government agents, and published by Mr Botha. In it, the party warned against what it called the "liberal" bourgeoisie and their like-minded imperialist friends who triggered off the current series of talks and dialogue with the ANC.

"Let us be clear," the document went on. "The 'liberal' bourgeoisie seeks transformations of South African society which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. Old style apartheid no longer serves their class interests. In addition, external pressures triggered off by an unending people's resistance are taking a terrible toll of their existing and potential economic interests."

The document stressed the need for economic as well as political democracy — "this implies more than an alternation in voting arrangements," and "majority rule in its true meaning". It said the "liberal" bourgeoisie and its foreign friends would try to push the revolutionary forces into negotiations before these were strong enough to impose their basic goals.

"We must not play into their hands by working out compromises for being seen to work out compromises for some hypothetical negotiating table which constitute a retreat from the main aims of the national democratic revolution."

The document takes particular issue with Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, who recently resigned as leader of the main white opposition party the Progressive Federal Party. He has held talks in Lusaka with the ANC. He later met President Botha, who released a transcript of the meeting, in which he had ideas for "drawing the teeth" of the ANC and wanted

to discuss them with the head of South African Intelligence.

Other ANC officials have stressed in interviews that the movement is united in not being ready to contemplate a ceasefire until well into any process of negotiations. The precedents of Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia were that agreement precedes a ceasefire, and not vice-versa.

"If we ask people to call off their resistance we're helping to create the illusion that the other side can be trusted," said one official. "It would damage the important momentum which has built up."

A gesture such as the temporary suspension of the campaign of sabotage is also ruled out. "The people are not our puppets. If we were to say 'Let's trust Botha. Let's make a gesture'. I think they would say 'We don't accept that'. There's been one example of bad faith after another." ANC officials cite as the most recent example the experience of the Eminent Persons Group.

The ANC came under pressure from Prime Minister Mubanga of Zimbabwe, President Kaunda of Zambia, and the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Sir Sridath Ramphal, to listen to the EPG's plan for a simultaneous suspension of the violence on their side along with the release of Nelson Mandela and the legislation of the ANC on the other. Two days after the EPG came to the ANC for talks, South Africa attacked ANC offices in Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana.

The issue of targeting places for ANC bombs which might cause civilian casualties is particularly urgent. It is not just a moral argument, but also a question of effectiveness since ANC officials say a high priority now is to break the traditional white consensus behind minority rule.

They have already seen considerable movement by the white power structure but the Rhodesian precedent is constantly in their minds. "The West is trying to find a moderate alternative to Botha, preferably with a black face," said one ANC official. "Chief Buthelezi was at one time being groomed as a kind of South African Muzorewa. Now they're losing confidence in his drawing power but they have not been able to find a credible black leader. The issue of Communists in the ANC is bound to be built up. The trouble for the United States is that the South African issue stands above ideological politics in the world. They can't deal with it like with Nicaragua."

As with Rhodesia, they say that negotiations can only take place on the understanding that the principle of a transfer of power to the majority has already been agreed. This was the basis for the talks which Mrs Thatcher sponsored at Lancaster House. Once that has been agreed by the South African government, temporary arrangements "safeguarding some aspects of white privilege, such as a few guaranteed seats in Parliament, are not excluded when ANC officials speculate on possible concessions."

Short of a government acceptance of the principle of a transfer of power in a united, democratic South Africa, the ANC believes negotiations are premature. Commenting on Sir Geoffrey Howe's hope of setting up a dialogue on his forthcoming trip, one ANC man said "We have had too many toy telephones in South African history already. I don't think anyone will take part."

Rekindled Liberty's fitful light

By Alex Brunner in New York

WHEN the Oleksiak family sailed majestically past Miss Liberty on the Fourth of July, her copper green coat gleaming in the bright sunlight, the only "huddled masses" in sight were the cheering, waving boaters aboard the thousands of yachts.

It wasn't quite like this from 1880 to 1924, when the golden door swung open and 17 million immigrants — Italians, Slavs, Greeks and Russian Jews — swarmed into New York in teeming, rat-infested vessels. Ryszard Oleksiak, a Solidarity refugee from General Jaruzelski's Poland, his wife, Magdalena, and their two enchanted children arrived in style.

The QE2, with a giant 100-foot Stars and Stripes spread across its starboard side, boomed its grating bass horn. The air resonated with the sounds of the Star-Spangled Banner, the Marseillaise, and, perhaps for the only time during the Liberty 100th birthday party, God Save the Queen. The 700 Chrysler car salesmen, their wives and girlfriends, whose mentor, Lee Quococ, paid \$7 million to hire the Queen, looked on emotionally as the Oleksiaks did their stuff and wept.

A shower of plump pink carnations rained down on the blue-grey water, and thousands of red, white and blue balloons soared above the Queen sailing past the blimp, casting a garish flying hamburger shadow over the whole scene. "We are very happy to be here," Mr Oleksiak pronounced in broken English as a passing fire ship gushed patriotic dyed water jets into the harbour.

Streaming towards the Queen and the anchored US carrier, the John F. Kennedy, from Long Island Sound came an armada of yachts, boats, junks, schooners in full colours and tall ships dressed to kill, rehearsing for the Independence Day Sail-past by 40 vessels from around the world — in perhaps the greatest maritime procession since Helen of Troy launched a thousand ships.

Hundreds swarmed around the birthday girl, looking from the high decks of the Queen like soapy clothing rumbling around the green core of a washing machine. As fast as they dropped anchor in search of a ringside seat, US Coastguard cutters would steam up and move them on with the tact of a New York cop.

At stake for the boaters, who sailed west from the Old World, south from New England, and north from the Chesapeake and even Panama, was a view of the first public demonstration of Star Wars technology. President Reagan, with a flair for the dramatic, flipped the switch from his champagne-bathed podium on Governor's Island, sending forth a laser beam with which to light the lifted lamp and bathe Miss Liberty in glorious floodlight, starting bell-ringing, fireworks, and partying across a joyous nation.

For the Oleksiaks it was an auspicious welcome to the New World. Standing before a plaster model of Miss Liberty in the Queen's Room, where night club performers do their stuff in white plastic Holiday Inn decor, they must have wondered what they had let themselves in for.

America's newest residents had come to the New World via a refugee camp in Athens, where their request to enter the United States was favourably received by the dreaded Immigration and Naturalisation Service. From there, their sponsors from the Church World Service took them

to Southampton, where they boarded along with the sharp-shooting Chrysler salesmen.

From New York, according to Methodist Bishop Roy Clark, the Oleksiaks will be taken to York, Pennsylvania — where Methodist churches have promised to settle them in their new land of freedom. After the culinary and other delights of a QE2 crossing, and a blimp and helicopter salute from overhead, it is certain to be a letdown.

Mr Reagan declared that the restored statue would be "a beacon of hope for mankind". To the Oleksiaks and the 300 new immigrants sworn in here that night it meant that, and more.

But not all Americans were able to sail past the Lady and intone Emma Lazarus's words:

"Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.

I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

The outsiders at the party are the millions of black Americans who passed by the golden door in chains, went through the perils of slavery and share-cropping and now form the underclass in the nation's cities, the native-Navajo Indians, who are being moved from their reservations, once again, the hundreds of "boat people" from Haiti who are herded into camps in Florida, the thousands of Mexicans who are rounded up each week along the Rio Grande, put into cells, and then made to walk back to wretched lives.

As Dr Milton Morris notes in his 1985 Brookings study Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy, Miss Liberty has not always been what it is cracked up to be. "Nonwhites were virtually excluded for most of the country's history, and currently Salvadorans fleeing from turmoil in their homeland are being denied refuge."

For many black Americans the spirit of Liberty means nothing. "It's a celebration for immigrants and that has nothing to do with me," argues John Hope Franklin, a historian of slavery and visiting professor at Duke University.

To mark their distaste for the Liberty proceedings more than 800 Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and American Indians gathered in New York last weekend under the banner of the Campaign for Economic and Social Justice to offer a different view of the celebration. "We saw the type of commercialism that was going on, as well as the lack of representation of people of colour — we felt it was important for us to make a social statement," says Brooklyn's member of the New York State Assembly, Roger Green. "The celebration reflects a historical revisionism. There has not been in any real sense a focus on the fact that our struggle for liberty is ongoing."

A telling poll by US News and World Report found that the spirit of Liberty fails to light the nation's way in the manner in which the media hype would have us believe. When asked if US immigration quotas should be raised, to allow more newcomers to enter, 51 per cent asked for a reduction, 35 per cent wanted the thing left alone and just 8 per cent were in favour of an increase. This despite the belief by half the respondents that the ethnic mix of the United States was "a major reason for the nation's greatness".

Molotov back in favour

By Martin Walker in Moscow

THE former Soviet prime minister whose name inspired the Molotov cocktail has formally lost "non-person" status to which he has been condemned for 25 years.

Vyacheslav Molotov, now aged 96, was interviewed in the Russian-language edition of Moscow News, and a summary article was published by Tass. There were unconfirmed reports 18 months ago that Molotov had been readmitted into the Communist Party, but this is the first public rehabilitation of one of the last old Bolsheviks who helped overthrow the Tsar in 1917.

At the 1961 party congress, he was accused of helping draw up the death lists for Stalin's purges, expelled from the party's Central Committee and finally expelled from the party in 1964.

In the interview, Molotov said he now receives "a large pension" and lives in considerable comfort at a dacha in Zhukovka, the prestigious country retreat near Moscow.

The main point of this public endorsement of the old man was apparently to publicise his support for the new style of Mikhail Gorbachev's Government.

"I keep abreast of all current events," he said "I am inspired by the changes now taking place in our life."

But such an article carries another, more discreet implication for the Soviet audience. It re-emphasises Mr Gorbachev's point that there is such a thing as honourable retirement for old servants of the party, and that a loss of office need not mean loss of privilege, far less loss of life.

AN officious, wavy haired gentleman from the BBC yelled at a couple strolling along the lip of the crater "You — move out of the way. We are filming."

TV gentlemen do that the world over, unacceded. But an old Scotsman in full kilts roared at this one: "Say please when you talk to people — and get your hair cut."

We were with the army now — the stoop-shouldered remnants of Kitchener's Army — in the most intimate of the events forming the last big commemoration of the dead of the Somme battlefield in the lifetimes of its survivors.

Seconds later, a maroon went up in the summer sky, as it did at the same time 70 years ago, at 7.30am on July 1, 1916.

In 1916, that was a signal for the detonation of four 60,000lb landmines, one of which blasted the 90ft crater on which the 400 of us stood at La Boisselle.

The explosion in turn was a signal for the offensive which brought 60,000 British casualties in its first hour and 1.2 million dead on both sides in four months.

The landmines did little good. Although the explosives it were taken down the secret 250 yard tunnel, this was the few dozen yards too far away to collapse the front line German trenches. But that was the story of the Somme.

Recently the great hole, in which brambles now grow, was bought by an Englishman, Richard Dunning, of Guildford, who did not want houses built on ground in which so many bits of human beings still lie.

Last week a plain cross made from Tyneside wood was unveiled in homage to the regiment which perished around the village. A brief service began with a reading

from the diary of Tom Easton, a 19-year-old. "The great mine exploded at 7.30am... men fell on every side screaming from the severity of their wounds. Had they lived, would they ever have forgiven?"

A 12-year-old boy, David Southworth, stared down at us and most sternly spoke two lines from the anti-war poet Siegfried Sassoon: "Look down and swear by the green of the spring that you will never forget. Look down and swear by the slain of the war that you will never forget."

By John Ezard in Thiepval, Northern France

After this, the open air congregation threw poppy petals into the crater and placed little wooden remembrance crosses all along its perimeter.

David's declamation was the closest anybody came to trying deliberately to make us feel chastened. The big event, led by the Duke of Kent, 3½ hours later beneath the great arch in the British Commonwealth cemetery at Thiepval was, if anything, upbeat in tone.

Reading from the Funeral Oration of Pericles, the Duke said: "In the hour of trial, the one thing they feared was dishonour... for the whole earth is the sepulchre of heroes. Monuments may rise, tablets be set up to them in their own lands, but there is an abiding memorial that no pen or chisel has traced. It is not on stone or brass, but on the living hearts of humanity."

The 70 British and French veterans seated in places of honour in front of the Duke, Mr George Younger, the Defence Secretary, and French VIPs, had feared many

more things than dishonour: death, their nation, rats, separation from their loved ones and — as happened to them — the slaughter of much of their generation. But they looked on impassively and politely.

The service paper said: "Tout le monde chante Oh God Our Help In Ages Past"; and for a few moments it was possible to believe that much of Europe was here in spirit at least, reflecting on one of the twentieth century's great Golgothas.

Luytens's 141ft high triple arch,

inscribed with the names of 73,000 soldiers with no known grave, is flanked by acamores, poplars, copper beeches, and silver birches. But it still stands out starkly among the undulating folds of Somme farmland, waist high with young corn.

A layman might say that the countryside was like Norfolk, rather flat. But to the veterans it teems with bridges, salients and redoubts and stumps of trees.

"The Somme doesn't look like anything terrestrial any more," the French writer, Pierre Loti recorded at the time... "a squashed brown mush into which everything sinks."

"It is almost beyond comprehension," the Army's Chaplain General, Archdeacon Frank Johnston, said in his sermon at Thiepval. "The enormity of the losses, the horrendous suffering, the confusion, the awesome effect on those of us who stand here. What a person remembers makes him the kind of person he is."

The Last Post, from the sound chamber of the arch, was played as

perfectly as most of us will hear it in our lifetimes. But this congregation contained experts.

"It was a bit too slow at the beginning," one veteran said afterwards. A paper followed with "The Flowers of the Forest Are All Gone Awa," a lament written for the loss of the Flower of Scots chivalry in the Battle of Flodden Field, in 1415. But it proved just as evocative of the Flower of 1916.

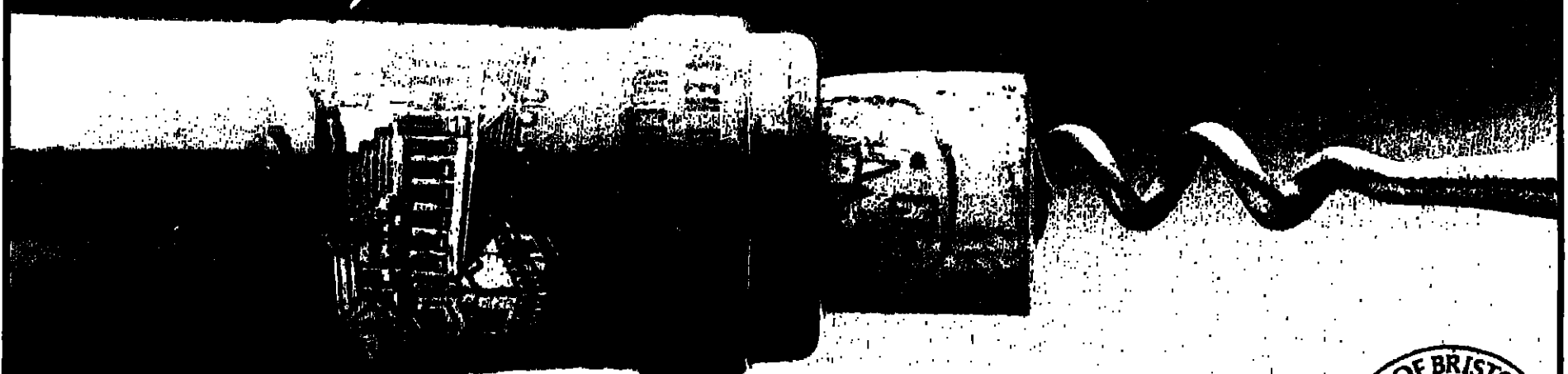
It sent tears coursing down the faces of three old soldiers sitting in front of the Duke, then two 90-year-old British survivors took two minutes to toil and sweat up the memorial's 26 steep steps alongside their French counterparts to lay a wreath "To Our Comrades."

But the war fractured our lives too. For the first time last week Mrs Betty Bower, aged 75, of Newcastle, laid a wreath in the foot of the arch bearing the name of her brother Ted, killed at the Somme at the age of 18. She had only just found his name. "It has been the dream of my life to do this," she said.

A few feet away another Newcastle woman, Mrs Annie Patterson, aged 73, discovered the name of her father, Will Coulson, killed 70 years ago last week at the age of 32, when she was three years old. "I have found you," she said to the name on the memorial bearing the names of 73,000 others. "I have found you at last."

She has the dimmest memory of her father going off to war. "I remember I fell down the front doorstep and he ran and picked me up," she said. "You can tell from photographs that he loved holding me in his knee. To think of all the love and comfort I have missed all these years."

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Water under the bridge

IF privatisation's epitaph — like that of Keats — becomes "writ in water," then the Government will have no one to blame but itself. The shelving of plans to sell off the monopoly supply of water to the private sector ends, at least for the moment, the most ill-conceived privatisation of them all. Ill-conceived, because short of putting a Peacock meter in the air we breathe (but let's not put ideas into anyone's head) the Government was proposing to denationalise the most "natural" of all the monopolies for which there is no substitute. You can't take your business elsewhere because there is no elsewhere, only one tap coming into your house. Nor does water have any of the other benefits claimed by privatisation. The pressure towards increased efficiency posed by threat of bankruptcy hardly applies. Stand up the Minister who would allow a water authority to go bankrupt?

Of the 11 advantages of privatisation listed in the February white paper there is barely one which could not be achieved without having off. Raising money in the City (instead of from the Treasury), profit-sharing, reducing ministerial intervention, the creation of a watchdog body, diversifying into tourism, paying higher salaries and so on: all of these things can and, probably should, be done anyway. The problem arises because the Government constantly, and

falsely, equates privatisation with deregulation. If Thames Water wants to launch new initiatives, from providing plumbing services to opening marinas, then let it do so. Indeed, the interim period before water is fully privatised (if the Conservatives are returned to office) offers an excellent opportunity to see just how a nationalised water authority could cope with limited deregulation by using its assets as it wants.

What this is all about is not water on tap, but cash on tap. And that, in the end, was why it failed, because no one looked beyond the bottom line. The Government saw the water industry as a quick way to raise anything from £4 to £8 billion in cash which could be recycled into a reduction in the standard rate, an unpopular privatisation pay for tax cuts which, so opinion polls tell us, hardly anyone seems to want.

And then came the problems. Financially, the City did not see the industry, with the possible exception of Thames, as a growth market. The prospect of charging by usage (through meters) would almost certainly lead to a decline in consumption, which would mean that profits would have to come from manipulating whatever price restraint formula was adopted. There were reports of having to write off much of the industry's debts to make it more attractive and of the

extreme difficulty of privatising all the authorities at once. This coincided with growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between maximising profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring the effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife. And with another lobby, including the industry's main union, preparing to fight a legal battle about whether the water authorities were really owned by local councils rather than Government, the Cabinet finally gave way at the knees: it postponed a bill which was controversial even within its own party and which could have produced a messy dogfight during a period when pre-electoral tranquillity was required by the party managers.

This won't earn many Brownie points for Mr Ridley, the high priest of privatisation, who has already had to postpone the flotation of British Airways. The money for the tax cuts will, doubtless, be found from elsewhere, from British Airways and British Gas and from selling the remains of Sir Winston Churchill's investment in BP. And, (but irony, if the Chancellor is still short of the cash needed to cut taxes, he will now be able to do what he did last year and force water charges up by more than the authorities themselves thought necessary. Taxes may yet be writ in water.

A bad night at the opera

WHAT'S wrong with booing at the opera, for goodness sake? They sometimes boo for half an hour at Bayreuth. In Italy, loud denunciation is the norm. So the "full two minutes" of audience disapprobation that greeted the curtain of Covent Garden's new production of *Fidelio* hardly ranks as a totally new phenomenon in the operatic world, even if it is still newsworthy for the reserve of a stolid British audience to break down in such a way.

Booing is a tricky subject at a time when very wise people are warning that Britain is becoming a job society. To some, booing at the opera feels uneasily like the upmarket equivalent of football hooliganism. There's a tendency around that says well-brought-up people, enjoying seats costing 30-odd quid a time, should set an example. And, of course, there was more than a bit of Hooray Henryism at work last week, just as there was when the Jockey Club members wrecked the Paris premiere of *Tannhäuser* in 1861. Sir Colin Davis, the Royal Opera's music director for 15 years, has always had a claque of opponents and there is no doubt that they took their opportunity to give him a noisy send-off in this, his final production. The bulk of the booing, though, was clearly from people who didn't like what they heard and (more particularly) saw. That doesn't make their booing a nice event. But at least it showed that they cared. At least it showed that there are people in this country who aren't so intimidated by the arts elite that they can't give voice to their own opinions. Why should people applaud all the time? We need more booing in Britain, not less.

Which is not to say that the boos were right about *Fidelio*. Covent Garden audiences are of a cultural conservatism exceeded only on the other side of the Atlantic. If they had their way, it would be one *Aida* after another. There would be no place for risk-taking. No Berg or Britten, even, let alone any Maxwell Davies or Stockhausen. No forward-looking productions from Götz Friedrich or the current villain, Andrei Serban. Even as things are, the conservatives have been able to use the public sector opera cash crisis to lever Covent Garden's artistic policy — such as it is — their way. Most of the exciting operatic ideas in Britain these days are therefore to be found at the Coliseum or in Wales rather than in Bow Street. It is very much to Sir Colin Davis's credit, however, that in his period in charge at Covent Garden he has consistently tried to push the artistic boundaries outwards rather than inwards. That involves taking risks and making mistakes. Even if the new *Fidelio* is a failure, it is better to have a policy which produces failures which are over-ambitious in their desire to say something different rather than failures which have no ambition at all beyond providing aerial wallpaper for the rich. (Review, page 20).

When police carry guns

THERE will be very few people who are completely satisfied with the outcome of the trial of PC Brian Chester for the killing of five-year-old John Shorthouse. This is not to say that the Stafford Crown Court jury which acquitted PC Chester reached a perverse verdict. Anyone who makes that claim is simply looking for any excuse to attack the police. The jury were faced with a horrendously difficult choice between inflicting judicial punishment on a police officer for what was beyond any doubt an accidental killing and acquitting him, an action which would leave the death unpunished in any way. It was always hard to believe that the jury would not choose the latter course if the evidence allowed them to do so. It did — and they have duly done so. That doesn't make it a clean cut or a pleasant verdict. Yet, in the end, it is difficult to believe that a conviction would have been any more just.

That still leaves big questions unanswered. First and foremost, there is the question of the Shorthouse family to consider. They have lost their son. He was killed by a police officer. It is impossible to disagree with the bereaved mother who said that she still holds the police "totally responsible" for her son's death. It is extremely important, not just for the individuals involved, but also for the police force, that the police accept corporate responsibility, even if not criminal guilt, for the killing. There must be some form of compensation to the family from the police. It seems unlikely that the Shorthouses

qualify under the (in any case not very generous) criminal injuries compensation scheme. But the last thing that anyone should want to see now is for the Shorthouses to be subjected to the indignity and humiliations of a long-drawn-out civil action for damages and compensation. What is needed, surely, is a quick police commitment to a substantial ex gratia payment. The local chief constable should act now.

The Shorthouse case is a landmark in the development of police arms policy. Like Waldorf before it, the shooting occurred because British police have trained too many police too perfunctorily in the handling of arms and because the officers in overall command of such cases have not exercised the appropriate degree of supervision. It is clear that it is the guns and the men in the front line who have been making the policy, rather than the supervisors. The court decision, however inadvertently, may well have added to the belief that the operational officers can make their own rules and get away with them. It is important to nip that response firmly in the bud now. Already, since Shorthouse, some forces have begun to restrict the numbers of officers getting gun training, in the hope of making it a more specialist skill. That is not enough. There has got to be a real overhaul of the terms under which guns are issued, carried, and used by the police. Unless that happens, we will all feel sorry for the Shorthouses but nothing will have been done to prevent exactly the same accident happening again.

Opec and Britain's simplistic oil policy

OPEC's manifest failure to implement effective quotas has prolonged, for the foreseeable future, the unexpected luxury (as long as you are not an indebted oil producer like Mexico) of low oil prices. There is a danger, though, that it will kill us into a false sense of security about future energy supplies. Britain's approach has been almost disarmingly simplistic. It doesn't believe in energy monopolies abroad: only at home. It has steadfastly refused to join Opec because that would diminish competition, yet it will happily leave British Gas an undisturbed monopoly after privatisation. It believes that prices should best be left to the market mechanism (another reason for not joining Opec) yet at home it unashamedly forces electricity, gas and water prices up by more than the utilities say that the market demands.

This Jekyll and Hyde stuff is an energy policy of sorts, but it ducks long-term problems that will not go away. By ignoring Opec pleas for restraint in favour of maximising production, the Government has ensured that our limited oil reserves will be exhausted sooner rather than later. This opens the prospect that the UK will be running out of oil some time in the 1990s when Opec (quite likely led by much more militant people than today) will be exploiting

are-acquired stranglehold on world supplies. Britain's role is pivotal. As the sixth largest producer (at 2.7 million barrels a day) we are big enough to affect any agreements to restrain output, the success or failure of which is highly dependent on marginal supplies. Had Britain decided to reduce output by say, 600,000 barrels a day (which would have probably triggered a proportional response from Norway and maybe from other reluctant Opec members) then surplus output would have been mopped up and prices would have risen; quite possibly by enough to leave Mr Lawson's tax revenue unchanged.

By helping to bring about a very cheap oil policy the Government has worsened the outlook for the coal industry because competition from cheap oil brings down the price of coal, thereby closing more pits, which in turn means a heavier burden on the taxpayer for unemployment pay and social security. By pursuing a policy which accelerates the depletion of indigenous oil supplies by the 1990s the Government has made Mr Peter Walker's claim — that Britain needs to rely more heavily on self-fuelling stations in future — look like a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Britain's position, as one of the very few

industrialised nations self-sufficient in energy, means that a cheap energy policy is not, unlike other countries, necessarily in our best interests. Nor, in terms of oil, is it necessary in the interests of the wider world. Sure, if it meant cheap oil in perpetuity. But if temporary profligacy is punished by even greater long-term dependence on an increasingly unstable Middle East, the need for a far-seeing energy policy is merely underlined.

Opec's share of the world market (excluding the Eastern bloc) is likely to rise this year to almost 40 per cent (compared with under 38 per cent last year and 66 per cent at its peak) thanks to its policy of trying to recoup lost market share. The price of Brent crude slipped further last week to \$11 a barrel. This followed the inconclusive meeting of members of Opec in Yugoslavia who, although no longer formed into an effective cartel, still have it in their power (since several are producing considerably below capacity) to reduce prices even further to gain a bigger share of the market. It is commonly supposed that, at around \$10, even President Reagan would take action not only to protect small American producers, but also the country's strategic capabilities. Always remember though that there is much more to energy policy than cheap prices.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

A 'certain idea' of liberty

By André Fontaine

BARTHOLOMEU is no Michelangelo. Nobody would dream of including the good old Statue of Liberty, now 100 years old, among the world's greatest masterpieces of sculpture. Yet few monuments in the world are charged with such emotion. It is because for tens of millions of human beings its silhouette finally glimpsed through the fog at the end of an exhausting voyage signified that the new life for which they had so yearned was at last about to commence.

Their descendants have forgotten the heart-breaks and disillusionments that all too often followed afterwards. All they have to do is contrast their own well-being with the harrowing poverty of these "tired... poor... huddled masses yearning to breathe free", to whom Emma Lazarus's poem, inscribed on the statue's pedestal, promised happiness on earth.

But the copper Statue of Liberty that the French people offered the Americans was supposed to "enlighten the world", not just the New World. As if our forebears had anticipated, at a time when isolationism — non-entanglement — carried the weight of dogma for a day of Uncle Sam's children, that all would come when the United States would play a determining part in the continual struggle between totalitarianism and liberty.

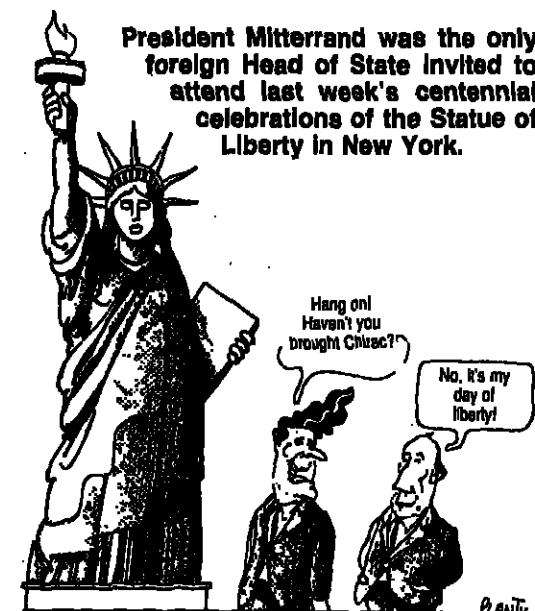
From Napoleon to de Tocqueville, Thiers and Marx, the greatest minds of the 19th century had glimpsed the role that America would play in the 20th century. They had appraised the immense power that its people would derive from the fact of having a homeland, not inherited as is the case for most of the rest of the world's population, but chosen, and chosen for its ideas. Better still, chosen for the dream it embodied.

All been talking about it in the verbal tide set off by the anniversary? But have we noticed that the phrase is used only in connection with America? It has never occurred to anybody to celebrate a German, French, British, Russian, Japanese dream or whatever, quite simply because in all these cases it would be hard to find any identification between the nation and an ideology.

The United States, on the other hand, came into being when its founding fathers subscribed to a common credo whose basis is precisely liberty and which was confirmed by generations of immigrants.

This idyllic picture has its dark side. The "equality of conditions" which so "carried away" de Tocqueville to the point that he saw it as the "focal point where all his observations came to end" is today but a distant memory.

Poverty, violence and illiteracy are not myths. The celebration of liberty does not mean what it says for everybody, especially not for the people who lived in the country before the whites arrived there. Nor for the blacks, who could not possibly forget the fact that their ancestors were for the most part taken there by force as slaves, even if nobody today is surprised to see some of them managing the destinies of big cities like Washington DC, Chicago and Los Angeles.



There is also the fact that the more people subscribe to the dogma underpinning the State, the greater the risk of seeing the State in question succumbing to the temptations of pride. Reagan-Rambo is not quite free of this danger. In February 1982, he said: "I've always believed this continent was an exceptional place whose destiny was exceptional. I believe our destiny is to be the beacon of hope to all of mankind." Fine. Better have a Head of State who sees himself as a "beacon of hope" than a self-acknowledged candidate for domination. But when you believe you have been invested by Providence with a planetary mission and when you possess unparalleled economic, military, cultural and media muscle for carrying it out, you naturally tend not to be too particular about the moral commitment and attachment to democracy of your docile allies, and on the contrary to consider as insignificant, not to say intolerable, the reservations and objections of those who are less tractable. The lack of understanding shown to France's refusal in April to allow American bombers bound for Tripoli and Benghazi to overfly its territory is just one more example of an already long list of what Henry Kissinger in a benign moment described one day as "transatlantic misapprehensions".

It is not very effective to wax indignant, as some do, over such pretensions — at least implied pretensions — to world domination, or at any rate world leadership, and take advantage of it to denounce the innate hypocrisy and rapaciousness of the White House and, behind it, Wall Street. It is not even fair when you have not really grasped the root cause of these "misapprehensions" which is, properly speaking philosophical. There wouldn't have been a United States had it not become the meeting ground of men and women who put their loyalty to common values before all these distinctions so dear to the peoples of Europe.

When you are so deeply convinced of them, it goes without saying that those who refuse to share them are easily seen as laggards and killjoys. Even today many Americans find it hard to understand why their cousins in the Old World prefer to live with their habits, their languages, their squabbles — in short, their history — instead of dropping them all for a marriage across the Atlantic.

It is because France's attachment to a "certain idea" of liberty is no less strong than that of the US that our two countries are constantly competing and cooperating with each other. Which means that despite all the bickering common to a long married couple, the union is not about to fall apart. (July 3)

Mulroney puts faith in his Quebecers

CANADA'S Progressive Conservative Party Prime Minister chose the eve of Dominion Day to make the most extensive reshuffle of his government since taking power slightly less than two years ago. That coincidence is certainly not fortuitous. With his popularity sinking disquietingly over the last few months, Prime Minister Mulroney needed to make a resounding gesture to regain even a momentary psychological advantage in public opinion.

Increasingly criticised for indecision and for his lack of firmness, the Canadian leader, who had been put off the decision since the beginning of the year, has gone about it squarely. Eight new faces have been brought in while six former ministers have been dropped, among them being First Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Erik Nielsen, a historic figure in Canadian conservatism.

Nielsen is undoubtedly paying the price of highly controversial

activities which attracted parliamentary disapproval. He had in fact to admit that some 30 years ago he had begged the House of Commons in Ottawa to spy on his Liberal opponents. Coming on top of previous scandals which in a very short time led to the resignation of four ministers, the incident helped to destabilise a government which had been triumphantly elected in September 1984. No party in Canada has ever had so substantial a parliamentary majority.

Mulroney by no means deserves his dwindling prestige. In the economic sphere particularly, his government can point to positive achievements: growth last year, though falling short of projections, did reach 4.4 per cent which, in times like these is quite an excellent performance. For many months now, unemployment has become stabilised at under 10 per cent for the first time since the 1982 recession. Mulroney does not fail to point out that over 350,000 new jobs have been created over the last two years.

Contrary to expectations, however, he has not succeeded in reestablishing the confidence in Canada held by the world economic community, mainly the United States. Investment, which had shied away from Canada, under Pierre Elliott Trudeau's "nationalist" direction, has not returned. As a matter of fact, spurred by misgivings about the effect of falling oil prices on the Canadian economy, a major disinvestment rush took place last year.

While making no secret of his

Pinochet in no mood to quit

GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET's government went to great lengths in an attempt to counter the 48-hour nationwide general strike called on July 2 and 3 by the Civic Assembly, a body formed in April and comprising most of Chile's social and labour union organisations. Civic Assembly, which proposes

members of his own military junta, General Matthei and General Stange. The two generals have, however, assured him of their "loyal support" during the next two years.

General Pinochet has other trump cards. The leaders of the two main Opposition political groupings — one with a Christian

COMMENT

to transcend the differences dividing the leaders of the main Opposition political groups, advocates non-violence and passive resistance. With the threat of court action hanging over their heads, its organisers feel they have made a preliminary breakthrough and the brought home the fact that what the vast majority of Chileans, whether of the left or the right, want is a peaceful and democratic transition. This was already known. They hope to be able to organise, before the year is out, an open-ended general strike to force Pinochet to negotiate or resign.

Wide publicity was given to the watchwords of the July 2 and 3 strike. Radio stations with ties to the Christian Democratic movement recommended to their listeners to spend the two days with their families and repudiated the Civic Assembly slogan: "All together at the same time." The "nationwide general strike" was made out to be the most significant protest action against the regime since the 1973 coup d'état.

The two days of passive resistance, but also street violence, took a heavy toll — seven killed, dozens injured and several hundred arrested. The harshness of the repression enabled the government to prevent the demonstrations from spreading.

At first sight, the strike movement would appear to have been less widespread than the *protestas* organised in 1983 and 1984. Anyway, there is no question of Pinochet taking notice of this latest warning. He intends to stay in office until the end of his mandate in 1989, and is even thinking of running for another term, a prospect viewed with some reservations by some sections of the armed forces and also by two



Pinochet: trump cards

admiration for President Reagan, Mulroney refuses to follow the Reaganite policy of slashing social expenditure. And this is doubly inconvenient in that it prevents him from narrowing the substantial budget deficit and irritates hardline capitalists who are otherwise normally well disposed towards him.

In the difficult times that Mulroney, an English-speaking Quebecer, is going through, he seems to be banking heavily on the few politicians from his native province who have always stood by him. At any rate, it is to Quebecers that he has decided to entrust such key ministries as Employment, Energy, Industry and Immigration. Four of the eight new ministers come from the Province of Quebec. Which is one way for Mulroney to show the Quebecers, who rallied to him two years ago but subsequently turned away from him to back the Liberals, that he has not forgotten them. (July 5)

Jaruzelski gets the Gorbachev seal of approval

By Jan Krauze

WARSAW — The tone was set at the very outset on Sunday, June 29 by General Wojciech Jaruzelski when he began reading the report of the party's central committee. "Five years ago," he said, "an extraordinary congress was held in this hall. Today it is an ordinary congress that opens." The First Secretary's satisfaction matched what appears to have always been his great ambition — to turn his country into a normal and well-ordered socialist country where everything, including party congresses, had its proper place. In short, an "ordinary" country.

On this point though Sunday was not a complete success. At the very moment Jaruzelski was addressing the gathering from the podium, thousands of demonstrators in Poznan succeeded in forming a procession to shouts of "Liberty, Rights, Solidarity" before they were dispersed by baton-wielding police. It must be said the authorities took a risk by opening the 10th congress of the party in the presence of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, on the same day as the 30th anniversary of the Poznan workers' revolt. Did they think that the police, with their long experience and highly developed tactics, would put down the slightest attempt to hold a demonstration, as is now practically always the case on every sensitive date?

The presence of the Polish primate, Cardinal Glemp, in Poznan would appear to have somewhat complicated the job of the law-enforcement authorities and facilitated that of the demonstrators (the primate's arrival was in theory unconnected with the anniversary, even if Cardinal Glemp did refer in his homily to the 75 victims of the repression and the authorities' cynicism at the time).

As soon as the ceremony ended, a crowd of 5,000 surged purposefully towards the monument erected five years ago in memory of the 1956 dead. Naturally, the police finally managed to stop the crowd's movement, disperse it and arrest a number of people. But the demonstration had in fact lasted half an hour, which is a long time in Poland today.

Sunday evening there were still around 10,000 people in Warsaw to attend the traditional "mass for the country" which took place amid imposing police precautions. And this at precisely the same moment that the World Cup soccer final was being televised from Mexico.

These were perhaps only pinpricks on the by now thickened hide of the government, but at least they are a reminder that the



Mr Gorbachev meeting workers at a machine plant in Warsaw last week with General Jaruzelski (left).

past, the "extraordinary," is always just around the corner.

On the other hand, everything went off according to schedule, right down to the tiniest detail, in the great hall of the Palace of Culture. Soon after the Polish leaders and distinguished guests had arrived and Gorbachev was getting ready to sit down, there was a resounding fanfare of trumpets. The "central committee's flag" burst into the hall and was saluted with trumpet blasts from soldiers in ceremonial uniform. Coming from General Jaruzelski himself, who was in civvies for the occasion, it was a reminder that the army had rendered the Party a great service in December 1981.

Gorbachev, who sat on Jaruzelski's right and was introduced by him as a "great friend" of Poland, received a standing ovation.

The central committee report, which took Jaruzelski almost four hours to read out, did not reveal anything special. What the members of the State apparatus and the nomenklatura will basically note in it is the announcement of a large-scale operation to reappraise the cadres. The idea is to try to ensure that responsible posts are filled by people with the required qualifications,

which in practice is extremely difficult.

According to the socialist system's rules, it is in fact the Party which "recommends," hence appoints, candidates to all senior posts. General Jaruzelski is certainly not thinking of doing away with the practice, but he would like candidates' merits to be carefully judged and changes in assigning posts accordingly decided at every level, from ministries down to plant level. This is quite an ambitious programme, which, as Jaruzelski himself pointed out, will require much "firmness and tact."

The First Secretary also stressed the need to continue with economic reforms, while acknowledging that they had run into major difficulties. One of the prime goals — productivity — has made little progress. But he urged that efforts continue to be made and picked out the priority tasks for the coming years — food, housing, education, health, environment and better income distribution.

In the political sphere, the general repeated his usual analysis of the '80s crisis by explaining that the vast majority of Solidarity's former members were honest advocates of socialism who had been taken in by "counter-revolutionary fanatics and

other renegades." Ruling out all leniency towards the regime's opponents and once more branding the underground Solidarity movement's activists as agents of foreign powers, Jaruzelski referred to the possibility of "giving another chance" to the "perpetrators of certain categories of crimes against the State."

It would not be an amnesty (the word was not mentioned), but a reduction of specific sentences. For some time now there have been unofficial rumours that measures of clemency could be taken after the party congress ends. But previous experiences dictate caution. General Jaruzelski had once before promised a similar measure before last autumn's elections. In fact, however, all the best known opponents were excluded from the measure. At any rate, the authorities will have a very wide field to choose from when it comes to indicating who will benefit from reductions of sentences considering that the numbers arrested have been rising lately.

The First Secretary also hinted at measures to benefit those convicted of crimes. This is urgently needed as Polish jails are heavily overcrowded.

Jaruzelski had some rather harsh words for the United States, but considered against the background of the violent anti-American propaganda in the press what he said seemed to be "relatively" mild. Of all the West European countries, he expressed an interest only in Federal Germany: nothing, apart from the revenge-seekers, he said, would hamper good relations between Warsaw and Bonn (the West German Social Democratic Party, along with Greece's PASOK, are moreover the only two Socialist parties to have sent observers to the congress).

All the same he did cause a minor surprise, but in quite an unexpected area when he proposed that "all the Communist and worker parties" meet shortly "to determine jointly" ways of searching for peace.

This is probably a skilful way of reviving the tradition — but only to talk about peace — of big world conferences of Communist parties that Moscow has not succeeded in organising for a long time. Public calls for such events made earlier by representatives of smaller Communist parties have gone unheeded. This would appear to be the first time that the leader of a big socialist country has put the idea forward and in Gorbachev's presence, that is, with his approval.

(July 1)

Government runs into flak on nationality bill

THE "PASQUA BILL" (draft bill sponsored by Interior Minister Charles Pasqua) on the entry into, and residence in, France of foreigners has yet to be adopted in parliament, and already there is another draft bill in the works aimed at amending the 1973 nationality code. The reforms, which were a plank in the joint election platform of the UDF (Union pour la démocratie française)-RPR (Rassemblement pour la République) and were confirmed by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in his policy speech in the National Assembly, are still being hammered out at the Justice Ministry.

The extreme rightwing Front National jumped the gun on April 21 by coming up with a draft proposal for a thoroughgoing amendment of the 1973 code. The RPR has just made a similar initiative, though it is less radical. The draft bill proposed by Pierre Mazeaud (RPR, Haute-Savoie) and all the members of the Parliamentary RPR goes well beyond the intentions credited to the government.

Should it be seen as a move to occupy the ground and prevent National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen from scoring points? Or is it a bid to influence the government, if not to twist its arm? Chirac has already considerably toned down Pasqua's draft, and some RPR members of parliament

doubtless do not want him to subject the nationality proposals to the same treatment. But it is doubtful that all the signatories of Mazeaud's draft bill have properly read the text which in its present form could send the defenders of immigrants into a fury and give centrist members of parliament a lot of problems.

Mazeaud proceeds from the argument that *ius soli* (the rule that a child's citizenship is determined by its place of birth) has "lost its usefulness". He holds that such "involuntary acquisition" of nationality by the fact of being born in France was formerly intended solely to increase the number of military conscripts and has lost its "justification".

The RPR's draft bill allows only one form of acquiring French nationality — when a French citizen adopts a foreign child. All other applicants would have to go through naturalisation procedures and be "judged-worthy" of French citizenship. All this would mean doing away with 25 articles of the code (23, 24, 33, 37 to 58) and amending some 15 others.

In particular, Mazeaud is considering dropping Article 23, which automatically confers French citizenship on a child of a foreign parent when it is born in France. The provision is especially helpful to Algerians and "produced" some 20,000 new French citizens in

1983. Mazeaud, who is the RPR vice-chairman of the Laws Commission, also wants to drop Article 44 which makes any child born in France of a foreign parent, who has himself been born abroad, a Frenchman at the age of 18 on condition he had not objected to it in the year preceding his attainment of majority. Some 17,000 young people took advantage of this provision in 1983.

By Robert Solé

The RPR draft bill also wants to end the possibility of acquiring nationality through marriage (10,300 cases in 1984; it will be no longer possible to become French by making a simple declaration after six months of living together. The candidate for naturalisation in this way would have to put his case to the authorities, but he would have no guarantee that his petition would be accepted. In naturalisation cases (18,500 applications accepted in 1984), the authorities in fact can reject an application without giving any explanation.

"Acquisitions of nationality are automatic today, but naturalisations are very difficult," says Mazeaud. "The former must be limited and the latter facilitated." But this does not prevent providing for a sort of examination

for the candidate without academic qualifications. The test will be designed to "determine that he knows French, French history and the institutions of the Republic." The foreigner "would appear before a board" in conditions to be established by decree.

Another new departure, inspired by the United States, is the taking of the oath. The candidate for naturalisation would have to declare in public and before the presiding judge: "I swear loyalty to France and obedience to the Constitution of the Republic. I pledge allegiance to the French Republic and renounce all allegiance to any States, of which I could have nationality, even involuntarily."

The naturalised Frenchman will be given a regular identity card, but he would not be sure of keeping it for all that. The RPR draft bill in fact provides for the following: "The person who has become naturalised French and who is later convicted in terms of Article 79 by reason of facts committed within five years of acquiring French nationality, retroactively loses French nationality." This is probably the clause that will cause the biggest uproar.

Mazeaud considers he is "moved by the same philosophy as the government" and does not rule out the possibility of his draft serving as the basis for amending the nationality code. This remains to

be seen. Government experts who have gone through the dossier have noticed that certain articles of the code cannot be touched without setting off a series of modifications and threatening to upset the balance of the legislation as a whole.

One clever shift has been proposed for modifying Article 23 (which grants French nationality at birth) without really touching it. Does not this article also help a child who has a parent who was born in a former French overseas possession? By doing away with this detail, only 3,000 to 4,000 Africans a year would be penalised — numbers that would decline gradually — but it would not prevent Algerians born in France after their country became independent from acquiring French nationality automatically.

What will Chirac decide to do? A reform limited to the nationality code, presented as a way of helping the integration of foreigners and forming part of the overall immigration policy, would have gone through fairly easily. But coming on the heels of the "Pasqua bill", it is likely to look like another form of discrimination. The Prime Minister will need a great deal of skill to be able to avoid touching off a new campaign of protests while at the same time satisfying his majority's most hardline members.

(July 2)

THREE drama schools — Les Amandiers at Nanterre near Paris, the drama department of the university of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and the American Musical and Dramatic Academy (AMDA) — recently organised an exchange of their respective students.

For six weeks, 22 Americans worked at Les Amandiers (see below), while 18 French students of Pierre Romans, head of that school, trod the boards on the Californian campus or on Broadway.

The scheme, financed by the French Association for Artistic Action (AFAA), had already been tried out in 1984, with an exchange between Les Amandiers and the O'Neill Theatre Center in Waterford, Connecticut.

The current programme ended on June 20 with a private performance by all those involved.

The feeling among French students is that their six weeks in the United States were "positive but surprising". What did they best remember about their stay? A constant urging to "be positive"; diet-sodas and pizzas at dawn; giant toasters and some very fat, if contented people; battered old Chevrolets; fits of rage thrown by teachers of singing, movement, drama and musical comedy.

The students were split into two groups, with eight going to AMDA and ten to UCLA. So while some acquainted themselves with the dinky town of Westwood and the methods of the Actors' Studio, the rest found themselves caught up in the razzmatazz of "cocaine city", knocking down to intensive singing lessons and nine hours a week of modern jazz and tap dancing, as well as improvisation classes.

Although they encountered different working methods all the French students returned from the US with the feeling they had met what the Americans call "professionalism" — the art of controlling one's body and temper, humility, a tremendous will to practise hard, and an obsession with the public.

In a studio high above Broadway, Harry, who is in such perfect trim it is hard to believe he is 60, takes his students through a *bourrée* step: "You're not in a night club here. You haven't paid to get in." He smiles and points into a mirror. "It is they who have paid to come and see you."

Delia Salvi, teacher of acting at UCLA, trying to teach a class, is always ready to pounce on anyone she hears whispering. She says she is shocked by the French students' lack of discipline.

When the storm has blown over, one of her students confides: "You have to let yourself go whatever

A group of French drama students have been to the United States to try out the acti methods which have produced many stage and film stars. In exchange, some Americ apprentice actors have been visiting France and getting a taste of the dictatorial metho used by French directors. The result has proved both positive and unexpected.

French actors get UCLA culture shock

By Laurence Benaim

happens. You're not allowed to slip away or hide behind the actor's persona. Here they want you to be seen taking risks. That's the positive side of the American method."

It is easy to imagine what it was like for the 18 young students when they arrived in the States: supporting the look that is now *de rigueur* in France — untidy hair, romantic rings under eyes, a wan complexion — they suddenly found themselves plunged into an atmosphere of artificial good humour and non-stop fun. That sort of experience is quite a wrench for an "intellectual".

The first sessions at UCLA were stormy. It is hard to act like an obedient teenager when you are used, as one student said, to "behaving like an actor in a theatre company."

Pierre Romans at Nanterre: does

essay a week on a set play (there are 30 in all).

Course cost \$430 a term for Californian residents and \$1,700 for anyone else. No expenses are spared to stage the department's productions — last year, the costumes for "Hamlet" cost \$6,000.

Students work hard to get their degree. It is not unusual to find the Shakespearean actor one had seen on stage the previous evening sitting behind a cafeteria cash-desk the following morning.

It was all a bit of a culture shock for the French students. Although they managed to get out of classes in dramatic theory, they were put through the basic training. This involved daily warm-up sessions where they had to wag their chins, emit primal screams and let themselves go in every conceivable way. "At first," says Vincent Perez, one

group psychotherapy? Not our life!" Gradually their miags melted away under the glori novelty and excitement.

Seen from the stalls, the whole thing looked like a play with a play. The actors would warup, stretch their limbs, whisper, put insults at the shadows. But the end of the day they haden softened up and were ready cart acting — "not tête-à-tête but belly-to-belly" as they put it.

The methods used in AMI are similar: "You're a cowboy lngine that John Wayne is lkg at

you." At times it looked and felt a bit like a school playground. But the students had already been taught the basic lesson that a movement is no good if you are afraid of making it, that you have to forget the mirror to convince yourself.

The Texan star Charlie Bennet, a large pink apparition with platinum locks of hair tumbling over her forehead, thought her French students were "terrific". As she watched them tucking into their *chili con carne*, she opined that they could well have a professional acting future ahead of them. But, she added, "six weeks is too short."

Bennet pointed out that at AMDA 80 per cent of candidates are eliminated at the start, and another 50 per cent told they need not come back after one year. As at UCLA, courses have to be paid for — in this case \$6,000 a year.

One cannot help feeling that the French students, whose board and lodging was paid for, had been sucked into the "Bob Fosse system" — by the dint of fierce practice sessions, and of singing, by learning the lyrics phonetically. Perhaps that is what they meant when they said the result of their trip was "positive".

"The Freud students sometimes had difficulty in familiarising themselves with Stanislavsky's celebrated Method... 'What? Are we expected to take part in group psychotherapy? Not on your life'..."

not give his students marks, he simply directs them. Aspiring students are put through a rigorous selection process: first they have to send in a photo, then they are subjected to an audition. Of 3,000 who apply, only 20 are accepted.

Romans does not expect his students to be able to draw an exponential curve. At UCLA, on the other hand, as in all American universities with a fine arts department, the teaching process takes place just as much in the lecture halls as on stage.

After two years of compulsory general training, students spend another two years of learning about scriptwriting, costumes and set construction. Those who take the history of the theatre as part of their syllabus have to turn in one

of the students, "one is afraid of giving oneself away, so one moves badly."

There was no real language problem, though chairman John Cauble called in an interpreter. Certain instructions hardly needed to be translated, such as "Relax" or "Feel your body".

But the French students, too stiff and too tense, sometimes had difficulty in familiarising themselves with Konstantin Stanislavsky's celebrated Method, which involves associating a scene with a lived experience and building up a role by rummaging in one's emotional past. They were given a quarter of an hour to work their way into an emotion.

At first they protested: "What? Are we expected to take part in

'Talk, talk, talk. And when do they sleep?'

"WHEN do they ever sleep over here?" said Kelly Giber, a Californian who spent six weeks in France as part of the drama student exchange scheme. In all her time in Paris she managed to see only the Eiffel Tower. The French, in her view, are bleary eyed, not very fond of drinking milk, and much given to endless discussion.

The first things that surprised the 22 American students (13 from UCLA and nine from AMDA) when they came to France were the way people would sit down and dissect the characters of the play, and the very precise instructions given by the director.

The plays they worked on included Molière's "L'Impromptu de Versailles", Ivan Turgenev's "A Month in the Country", and Jean-Paul Sartre's "Les Séquestrés d'Altona", "one of the best introductions to French theatre", according to John Berry, who shared the task of directing the students with Pierre Romans.

They had never got so close to the text before, but had simply played

out a scene or two in front of their teacher. According to one of the students, "in the States, the third eye doesn't exist." He was referring to the director, that constantly mobile, voyeur who follows the actors' every step and indicates pauses with his hands.

"When Pierre Romans looks at us," John Lynch, an AMDA student explains, "you think he is painting a picture. What a difference! In the States, our teachers only give us guidance when we ourselves have made a suggestion."

The American students' second surprise was the way the French use space. "When they arrived here they had no idea how to move," says Romans with some vehemence. Fred Astaire's very own grandsons were apparently as stilted in their movements as robots. "They just made their exits and entrances, but never opened up."

Could it be that the "total" actor is less expressive than his or her Cartesian counterpart? If so, yet another myth has been exploded.

Lawrence Hilly, a Californian living in New York, who dances and plays baseball and basketball, says he learned what "freedom of body" means: "The French are more choreographical, they're not scared of making big gestures."

The deepest impression left on him was by two plays he saw in Paris, "Quai Ouest", directed Patrice Chéreau, and Antoine Vitez's production of Jin Gaudou's "Electra" at the Paris de Chaillot.

It was by watching the actress playing Electra, Evelyne Istaiti, that he understood what the play was about. "Her slightest movement was for me a piece of art, it had that kind of production, wouldn't go down well in New York, would be regarded as too realistic. People hold themselves back on Broadway — perhaps because that's what audiences want, they've been perverted by TV soapopera. Here in France, at least theatre has retained a touch of madness."

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Worst Of Worlds

IN RESPECT to the World Cup that the United States is violating international law in Nicaragua administration has tried to have it both ways. To defend itself against Nicaragua's charges, but now it court's decision. First the administration looked as if it feared was weak, and now it sounds like a poor loser. This is nonsense all around.

The World Court is not a court that interprets and enforces a body of law that confers sovereignty states. But, aside from the narrow range of cases agreed to submit to it, it is a custodian of something "national law" that is a recognised and useful standard nations want their policy to measure up to. Americans found valuable in the Iranian hostage crisis. Only when Maning to condemn U.S. policy did the Reagan administration start to take up a complaint involving an armed conflict. An confident administration, however, would have realised that forum in which to reply.

Why did the Reagan administration take the chance? The obvious defense was that the United States testing Nicaraguan guerrillas, is engaged in collective self-defense, government that supports Salvadoran guerrillas. But here the administration has hamstrung itself by failure to make public the case showing a continuing Nicaraguan role in El Salvador.

Common sense suggests that this invasion is not supported by mirrors, any more than Reagan's insurgency is. The secret intelligence has demonstrated the role even to many congressional critics of Reagan's policy, intent on protecting intelligence sources, have prevailed upon pleading to disclose Managua's hand. It has always been a political mistake.

But that may not be the whole of the reason to suspect that the administration's aim is not merely to leave its neighbors alone but to remove it. No government could acknowledge such a goal to the world.

That leaves the Reagan administration the worst of two worlds. It stands condemned for violating international law, and the policy for which it is condemned seems to produce its intended requirements of overthrowing theists, short of direct U.S. intervention that the president insists on.

OPEC Isn't Finished

OPEC is a classic cartel, and classic cartels usually short-lived. One reason for this was visible in the collapse of OPEC's latest attempt to get a lock on its market. Meeting at Brugia, OPEC's members were able to agree immediately to raise the price of oil. But the only way to do this was to raise the price of oil. But the only way to do this was to raise the price of oil. But the only way to do this was to raise the price of oil.

Does it mean the price of oil will remain low or high? Apparently, yes. But careful.

As always, a great deal of oil will remain low or high? Apparently, yes. But careful.

Saudi Arabia have been selling steady amounts of oil in an effort to maintain a high price in a world in which demand is falling and other countries are producing more. Some OPEC members were cheating by producing more than their quotas. Saudi Arabia have been selling steady amounts of oil in an effort to maintain a high price in a world in which demand is falling and other countries are producing more.

What OPEC's other members think about it is secondary. EC's new competitors - Mexico, Britain, China - have all now produced more oil than any OPEC member itself. The Saudis have evidently decided that in these circumstances the cartel's international quarrels are intolerable, at least for the present.

With their vast reserves, by far the largest in the world, the Saudis are increasing production of what is left will lie under the Saudi desert.

The industrial countries have to be very careful to discourage renewed decline in the next decade and prices will respond. More than ever, Saudi Arabia will be in a position to decide when, and how much, when prices begin rising, it will be much easier to enforce discipline in the cartel. The new - not necessarily forever.

Finding Mercenaries

Continued from page 16

selected past uses of foreign troops, among them mercenaries of the 18th and 19th centuries, British Gurkhas and the French Foreign Legion. Then Cuba: The Soviet-Cuban relationship seems to be the best model for defining Cooperative Forces. Clearly there are some differences between this relationship and one including a democracy. However, the basic premise of mutual benefit still holds. The aid, the Soviet gain now, friendly governments.

Now, it's only a paper, but it's

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Patriotism And Its Symbols

By Ralph Nader

Special to The Washington Post

AROUND the dinner table in the New England town where I grew up, our parents would observe at just the proper time in our political discussions that loving our country meant working hard to make it more lovable. The flag, they would add, could take care of itself.

This advice did not keep their children from rushing down to the annual July Fourth parade on Main Street or arguing over the desirability of America's Beautiful versus the Star Spangled Banner as our national anthem.

Commemoration of the nation's Independence Day was fun, and it made us feel good.

It wasn't long before my mother and father found an opportunity to restate their message. They did not adopt the defensive patriotism of many immigrants who were sensitive lest their foreign accents and customs seem to cast doubt on their love of the USA.

"When I sailed past the Statue of Liberty in 1912," my father once said to us, "I took it seriously." He and my mother wanted to exercise

"Early elementary-school teachers have told me that when they raise a picture of President Washington in class for identification, their pupils reply: 'He's the car salesman.' 'He sells stereos.'"

— not message — their new freedoms on behalf of greater justice and a better democracy. They were all too alert to the fate of nations and peoples who wallow in collective praise at the expense of exercising their rights against the abuses of power and the blockage of opportunity.

The 1940s were easy for patriotism. Against the backdrop of World War II, who wasn't a patriot? The '50s were the Eisenhower years, when patriotic feeling elected a wartime commander who, unlike men in that office who never served in the military, rarely flaunted their patriotism. The '60s were a reaction to the ambiguity and conformity of the prior 15 years. The challengers accused the self-styled super-patriots of using the flag as a bandana or fig leaf to hide shame, injustice and aggression, particularly against minorities at home and the Vietnamese abroad.

For different reasons, Nixon's Watergate and Jimmy Carter's delayed the inevitable backlash and return to patriotism until the fall of the Iranian hostage crisis, which galvanized the young into the wailing laments of Ronald Reagan.

In the '80s, patriotism and its symbols increasingly have become media extravaganzas for commercial and political exploitation. Such shows and speeches, disassociated as they are from contemporary deeds and national missions, have become refuges for holders of power who seek to define and control the nation's patriotic sentiments.

The profitable hoopla surrounding the Statue of Liberty is more than show business. Organizing millions of school children to collect quarters and dollars to refurbish the statue was done in a style akin to the monumental idolatry of far less democratic regimes abroad. How many of these children learned anything about civil liberties and civil rights in their journey during this drive? The homelands were not sympathetic to such linkage.

The challenge is to find activities in our own daily lives that give meaning to our patriotic slogans, and that allow us to define our role for our country through civic achievement. Patriotism is a powerful idea, and one that should be defined by citizens, not by their rulers. For me, the meaning of patriotism lies in working to make America more lovable.

The corporatization of our nation's patriotic symbols did not

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Remembering Entebbe — Fortune Favors The Brave

TEN YEARS ago, Lt. Col. Joshua Shani peered into the overcast African night from the cockpit of his C-130 Hercules and saw, lined up before him, the runway lights of Entebbe International Airport.

"It was quite an easy landing," says Shani, now a full colonel and the air attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. "I didn't use any landing lights: it was a dark landing, which isn't a big deal. We didn't want anyone to see us."

The plane landed unnoticed, and what followed has become legend. Israel, acting boldly and alone on July 3 and 4, 1976, sent an airborne force of special commandos 2,300 miles across often hostile terrain to rescue 105 hostages held by pro-Palestinian terrorists.

The strike was quickly conceived and executed, it was "surgical," and it worked.

Within minutes after the first plane touched down, seven of the terrorists were dead along with 20 to 40 Ugandan troops, and the hostages, who had been hijacked aboard an Air France flight to Paris, were freed. Three hostages died.

"This operation," then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said at the time, "will be the subject of research, of poetry and legend." In Jerusalem last week, at a gathering of some of the former hostages and their rescuers, Israeli President Chaim Herzog described the raid as "Israel's shining hour... an operation that electrified the world's imagination."

Israel's action was widely applauded, but American presidents who sought to emulate it were less successful and less warmly praised. Jimmy Carter's raid on Iran ended in disaster at Desert One, and Ronald Reagan's bombing of Libya brought no cooperation from the French and criticism from many quarters. International terrorism, for Americans and others, remains a nearly intractable problem, and there may never be a success to equal Israel's daring achievement a decade ago.

Shani was a 30-year-old squadron commander when he piloted the lead plane into Entebbe. Aboard his plane was Gen. Dan Shomron, the commander of the

raid, and Lt. Col. Jonathan Netanyahu, head of the assault party that freed the hostages and the only Israeli military fatality.

What follows is Shani's version of events, which differs in some respects from other versions, the instant books and the TV movie. A tall, tanned, athletic man who speaks clear but strongly accented English, he tells the story in his embassy office.

As he talks, he smokes Marlboros from a hard pack. On desks and tables around the office are scale models of warplanes and helicopters. On the walls are pictures of planes, and one picture of a black Mercedes. The Mercedes played a crucial role in the raid and was aboard Shani's plane, along with two Land Rovers.

The hostages were being held in an old terminal building at Entebbe, south of the Ugandan capital of Kampala in central Africa. They had been hijacked on June 27 aboard an Air France flight from Tel Aviv to Paris via Athens. There were 246 passengers plus crew to begin; by July 4, the day of the raid, only 106 hostages remained after most of the non-Jews were released. The process used to separate Jews from non-Jews was chillingly reminiscent of "selections" in the death camps of Nazi Germany.

The terrorists — perhaps 10 in all — stood guard over the hostages inside the building, which was guarded outside by Ugandan troops. Ugandan President Idi Amin was all but openly cooperating with the terrorists, although when he visited the hostages and spoke to them he pretended to be neutral.

Israeli intelligence learned that on these visits Amin arrived in a black Mercedes flanked by two Land Rovers. Israel was making diplomatic efforts to solve the crisis. At the same time, preparations were going forward for a possible military rescue operation. The first military plan, Shani says, was to drop paratroopers in Lake Victoria, the source of the Nile, on which Entebbe is located. The idea was for the troopers to row ashore in rubber boats and attack.

Shani says, "Let's call it very, very low," he says with a smile. "Just very, very low." Flying low is tiring and uses a lot of fuel, so when they turned right over Ethiopia they increased altitude. Over Lake Victoria they

Somebody got the idea that if they drove up to the terminal in a black Mercedes flanked by Land Rovers, the Ugandan troops outside the terminal would think it was Amin and hold their fire. "And we needed just a few seconds of hesitation to let our people penetrate the terminal."

The Israeli planners began hunting for a black Mercedes. "We tried Hertz and Avis. They didn't have one in Tel Aviv." Finally a car was found at a small Mercedes dealer, but it was white. Israeli troops quickly got a can of black paint and painted it. "A very lousy job." But, when the moment came, it fooled the Ugandans as planned.

Shani led the flight of four C-130s. The last plane was nearly empty so there would be room for the hostages. They left Sharm el Sheikh on the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula at about 4:30 p.m. Israeli time, on July 3. They went down the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, flying low to dodge radar in these countries and about Soviet ships.

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Fidelio beamed

THIS is Colin Davis signing off as Covent Garden's MD. And how! His new Fidelio, the last production Davis is launching in 15 disappointing years, is a catastrophe. Andrei Serban's staging, which I found peaseable, though frenetic and overloaded in the first act, took a nose dive during the interval, culminating in a farcical Göttergötter-like charade for the last scene that provoked boos of derision when a black-winged Beelzebub on stilts enclosed the guilty Pizarro in its wings. This certainly was the funniest Fidelio I've seen.

Unfortunately, Davis opted to meet the incompetent and futile sequence of tableaux from which Serban constructed the second-act staging by allowing what was already a sombre, stolid, very tonic but persuasive interpretation to snail's pace, playing for seriousness. And he insisted — in mistak-

Tom Sutcliffe at Covent Garden

on deference to Beethoven's musical genius, and disregarding the composer's careful dramatic revisions — on inserting the Leonore III overture in the middle of the second act, giving Serban the opportunity for the lamest, most futile, and repetitive mime of the story in front of the giant cut-out of Beethoven's death mask. (In fact Davis conducted this misplaced overture very beautifully, almost serenely, despite what was happening on stage, and the orchestra played it superbly.)

Otherwise, the second act plodded on its weary way at a pace that allowed the chorus not only time to breathe in their joyous terminal peans — something Beethoven scarcely considered necessary — but time to giggle at the farago in which they were involved.

The tragedy is that in choosing Fidelio for his farewell, Davis was opting for a work he loved, and — as an interpreter — well able. The first act was lovingly conducted, every detail of orchestration drawn out like a treasure, and the orchestra (whose quality Davis has during his tenure maintained and improved) responded strongly.

Davis's pace was, I think, a good deal more deliberate than the last revival he conducted here of the work. If anybody doubted his credentials they would surely have marvelled at his management of the duet between Rocco and Pizarro, perfectly structured by Davis, its dramatic intention ideally realised.

But at the dramatic heart of the work, the great ritual of Leonore's self-sacrificial gesture seemed beyond Davis's power to rescue, becalmed by the sheer incompetence and tedium of Serban's staging. On paper this looked an encour-

A man's war of liberation

ROBERT HOLMAN has always shown a greater gift for atmosphere and dialogue than for dramatic structure. So it was a bright idea of the Bush to commission him to write three short loosely-linked plays which all revolve around brief encounters shattered by war. The three plays are uneven in impact but the collective title, *Making Noise Quietly*, offers a good definition of Holman's effort which is oblique, gentle, understated but which often has a depth of charge.

I found the first play, *Being Friends*, easily the most riveting. Two young men meet in a Kentish field in July 1944. One, a Quaker conchy working on a local farm, is sexually and morally insecure; the other, bright, gifted and homosexual, has a novel due out in autumn, an exhibition at the

Whitechapel and is illustrating the signs of the Zodiac for Vogue. As in his RSC play, *Today*, Holman pins down beautifully the growth of tentative friendship between men of different backgrounds and the inquisitive envy of the repressed, the puritan Northerner for the Bohemian freedom of the privileged Southerner.

But Holman's virtue is that he puts people first, messages second, and it is fascinating how the Quaker's buried urge to enlist only surfaces through contact with a liberated spirit. John Dove's production is lyrically precise and excellently played by Jonathan Cullen as the shy pacifist and Ronan Vibert as the exuberant artist.

In the play, Mr Holman implies that the moral clarity of the last war led to the revelation of real

CLAUDE MILLER, the French director, has never really sustained the promise of his first two features — *The Best Way To Walk* and *This Sweet Sickness*, both of which were shown here. He has, in fact, only made three other films in a decade. But fortunately the fifth is *An Impudent Girl* which has proved both a commercial and critical success.

The film is an odd mixture, looking at times like a fairly crass French pot-boiler, what with its absurd picture frame ending and the slumpy theme tune. But often it gets to grips quite charmingly with its main theme of tribulations of adolescence. The best of it is so good that the dross comes as a most unpleasant surprise.

The impudent girl is Charlotte, a 13-year-old who can't wait to grow up, suddenly finding her own little world insufficient. She hates her provincial life and visits her aunt in London, where she is including her long-suffering step-mother and Lulu, faithful but still childlike friend. When a young musical prodigy comes to town, she is riveted with admiration, even though the prodigy clearly needs a boot on the bum and isn't about to get it from the sycophants and hangers-on around her.

The child in Charlotte fantasises about becoming the musician's manager, latching on to the loneliness of the long-distance careerist. The adult in her discovers that it is only a fantasy which she has to step over to grow up and besides, true friends are those who stick by you.

The revelation of the film lies in its shrewd observation of provincial French family life and, most of

A devil in the heart

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

all, in the amazingly truthful performance of Charlotte Gainsbourg who took the part in her school holidays. Don't expect a Hollywood child but a real one, with a devil on one shoulder and an angel on the other, like most recalcitrant pubescents.

The film has been compared to a Carson MacCullers story and it certainly has the same edge and irony that MacCullers sought and excellently found.

Excellent performances too from Bernadette Lafont as the step-mother, and Julie Glenn who equals Gainsbourg as Lulu. The charm, by the way, is not of the ingratiating kind but seems to be born of real experience. What a pity Miller has been persuaded to gild the lily here and there. The film simply does not need it.

If you watch Kim Basinger's performance in *Fool For Love* you will not recognise the edge performance of Adrian Lyne's 9½ Weeks. She is a whole class better for Robert Altman, who asks her to expose not her body but her talent in his imaginative if uneven adaptation of Sam Shepard's play.

She has Shepard himself opposite her rather than Mickey Rourke, which is in itself an improvement. But it is essentially a matter of a director instinctively knowing how far he can go with an actress, and then using her talent to the full in a series of tightly shot

and edited scenes. The acting, perhaps, is the best part of the otherwise slightly theatrical adaptation.

Once again, as he determined with Jimmy Dean, Streamers, and the extraordinary Nixon film, Secret Honour, Altman makes little attempt to open the play out, which is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is an advantage because the piece has thus survived on its own merits, and a disadvantage because in this case it never quite does so, needing something extra on the screen which doesn't materialise.

The only real change is the introduction of Harry Dean Stanton's drunken father as a kind of Banquo's Ghost, almost commenting on the story as it goes along and, because it is Stanton, with some style. This time round he is the link with everything that the lonely girl at the broken down stage fights fate for the man she loves. Her lover is the same kind of existentialist loner we've seen before in pretentious American movies. But this time I don't find much to cavil about.

It is actually about simple people striving to contain themselves in a very complicated world where things are never quite what they seem, and Altman's straightforward approach emphasises that fact to some effect.

Even though far from perfect, *Fool For Love*, which also has a Marvellous cameo from Randy Quaid as the outsider who steps into the relationship and gets stung, is about twice as gripping as your average American movie. And, for myself at least, a real pleasure.

There was a time when the new limits of censorship, following the demise of Glavit, the state's censorship board, after its 67-year reign. "Censorship exists in literature, designed to secure constitutional rights, to ban pornography, war propaganda, racialism and to protect military secrets," Vitaly Kordich, an essayist from the Ukraine and one of the newly elected secretaries of the union, explained.

"But the function of censorship stops there. It should not interfere in the literary process," he said. "And Dr Zhivago and the other works of Pasternak are hardly revolutionary and it is quite logical to publish them."

Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who campaigned hardest for the posthumous honouring of Pasternak, announced that the Writers' Union would henceforth "try to use our own power to defend books of our comrades and brothers against the bureaucracy."

He also announced that Bella Akhmadulina, Bulat Okudjava, and Yuri Chernichenko had been elected to the union's presidium. Akhmadulina has been a contributor to the banned magazine *Metropol* in 1979, and many of Okudjava's satirical ballads are

easy against reasonable breaks. However, the true expert tries to provide for every possible pitfall. Since South's trumps have been shortened at trick one, he cannot afford to lose control of the trump suit. Hugh Kelsey therefore suggests, quite correctly, that the best way of ensuring the slam contract is to duck a diamond at the second trick. No matter what the defenders return, South can arrange to ruff a second spade in the closed hand before drawing the outstanding trumps, and he will therefore come to four hearts, three top trumps, two spade ruffs and three clubs to chalk up his excellent slam contract.

The second, according to the writers' gossip, was Raisa Gorbacheva, the wife of the Soviet leader. Her influence behind the scenes has played a major part, according to several writers, in ensuring the publication of hitherto banned writers.

There were two people missing from the press conference who in justice, perhaps, should have been there. The first was the secretary of the Writers' Union, Vladimir Karpov, the first former inmate of Stalin's prison camps to rise to such a position.

At last I know what was meant: the extra-four municipal pubs run on the so-called Gothenburg system to discourage consumption, by teetotal licencees who "walked

against 3NT, and South's ten holds the trick. South continues with the Jack of diamonds, which also holds and on which North follows with the two. What should South play at trick three?

Kelsey's solution is obvious — but only when it is pointed out. He suggests that South should switch to a club, playing for the declarer to hold a doubleton in the suit. West can win in dummy and play a spade, but South can go up with the ace, cash the ace of clubs and exit with a diamond, making sure that he will eventually come to a second spade trick to defeat the contract.

The full deal is as follows:

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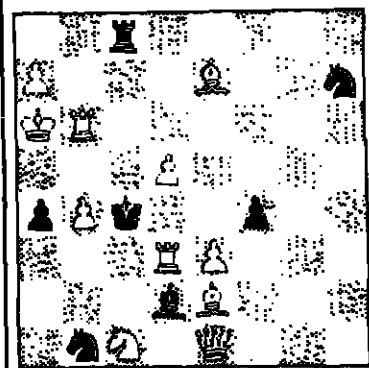
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Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1914



White mates in two moves, against any defence (by A. van der Ven). Though only a two-mover, this problem often defeats even strong solvers for an hour or more.

Solution No. 1913:

White K at Q2, Q at K2, R at KN7, B at KN5, N at KB3, P at QR3, QN2, QB4, O4 and KR2, Black K at QB1, Q at KR6, R at KB1, B at QB2, N at KR4, P at QR3, QN2, QB3, K3, KB4 and KB2. What should white play?

1 RxB1 PxB2 2 QxR3 3 N-KN1 3 Q-KB4 ch K-R2 4 QxR3 3 N-KN1 3 Q-KB4 ch forces perpetual check.

CHEQUERS, the London coffee house which stages regular one-day and weekend tournaments, has estab-

lished its own weekly magazine with up-to-the-date games from the latest international events. Chequers Chess, now its twelfth issue, is edited by former British champion Bob Wade, and looks specially useful for strong players or improving juniors. Recent issues include all the games of the Kasparov-Miles match, reports on the Brussels, Burgundy and the USSR championships, and analysis of current openings. Specimen copies are £1, a monthly subscription £4.

Proprietor Aly Amin is fast establishing Chequers as a chess haunt in the tradition of the old Gambit cafe near Cannon Street which was demolished by property developers. You can visit the restaurant at 18 Chalk Farm Road, London NW11 (485 1696) for a meal, a friendly game, or for their next tournament — all night on 18-19 July, one-day on 25 July.

From the Chequers rating tournament, a pioneering event under FIDE rules allowing games at one hour each for all moves to count for world rankings:

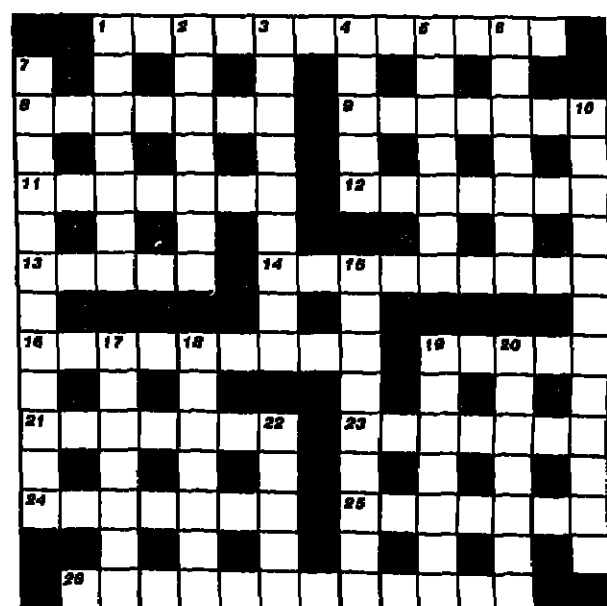
Byron Jacobs (France) — M Kirazenberg (France) Centre Counter (Chequers 1986)

1 P-K4 P-Q4 2 P-P N-KB3 3 P-QB4 P-B3 4 N-QB3 P-P 5 P-P N-P 6 B-Q4 P-K3 7 N-B3 K-R2 8 B-Q3 N-Q3 9 O-O 10 R-K1 B-B2 11 B-K4 QN-K2 12 Q-Q3 P-KR3?

A COUNTRY DIARY

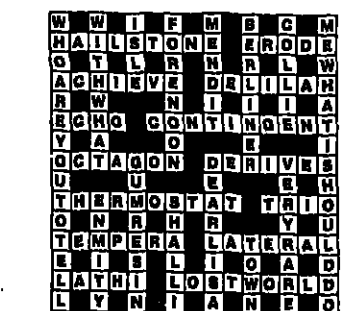
NORFOLK: Having gazed long enough at pearly vapours in the heavens from a high-rise hospital window, I am now home, cradled in a paradise of woodland greenery and bird song. Butterflies drift past my window, risking a snatch from spotted flycatchers nesting nearby on an ivy-covered wall. The purring of turtle doves as each day the sun's warmth has dispelled the dew and pervaded the scene with the dreaminess of haytime and high summer, has replaced for me the rhythmic droning of city traffic, of which I am reminded only when bumble bees come within hearing on their visits to garden flowers. From my bedroom I look down on huge, creamy umbels of giant hogweed, now at the height of perfection, and from time to time see willow and garden warblers swoop on the insects that settle on them. The predominant

note and indeed all other trees in view, are carrying the densest burden of foliage that I have ever seen round about midsummer. Only too often there is widespread defoliation by caterpillars at this time, followed by regeneration as seepy "lammas" shoots develop. Leafing was much delayed this year and it remains to be seen whether caterpillar plagues are yet to make an impression. When night comes, the scent of honeysuckle drifts into my room and is doubtless a lure for hawk moths now stirring from the shadows as bats come forth and glow-worms twinkle in the grass of my garden. A few mosquitoes have been paying me stealthy visits in the night, giving me assurance that not only they, but the myriad other small inhabitants of the jungle round about, are faring well. E. A. Ellis



CRISPA

- ACROSS
- An attractive girl from Eastern Europe? (8, 4)
 - Intense radical? (7)
 - Making threats to split? (7)
 - He's grasping a claim for a former player? (7)
 - Drink to celebrate, causing some irritation? (7)
 - A woman lies each one (5)
 - Over-mild holy man engaged in tea-preparation with minor (9)
- DOWN
- Name the new fuel? (7)
 - Much will appear dull going around at 50? (7)
 - Doesn't like water running over cesses? (9)
 - Lat in trendy group (5)
 - Soothe the head about state recession? (7)
 - Slow admitting twitch is grating? (7)
 - Rate reduction (12)
 - The enrolment of soldiers meaning to share fairly (12)
 - An American politician (9)
 - Mixed drink for a fellow-traveller? (7)
 - Races held by those involved to be most exciting? (7)
 - Weatherman's concern for thug in back-street? (7)
 - The lady will see reporters around midweek? (7)
 - Fashion grips the young person (5)



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